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Domestic Violence in India:
Exploring Strategies, Promoting Dialogue

Men, Masculinity and Domestic Violence in India

Summary Report of Four Studies

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Masculinity and Violence Against Women in Marriage: An Exploratory Study in Rajasthan

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Preface

The International Center for Research on Women, in collaboration with Indian researchers, is pleased to present the fourth in a series summarizing research studies undertaken in India on domestic violence against women. This particular volume brings together four studies exploring the links between masculinity and domestic violence as well as an aggregate analysis undertaken by ICRW on these linkages. The summary reports were prepared by the individual research teams and the introduction has been prepared by ICRW staff. The ICRW team assumes responsibility for any errors and omissions in this report.

Both the research teams and the ICRW team wish to express gratitude for the excellent editorial support provided by Margo Young and the unstinting administrative support provided by Miriam Escobar and T. Venugopal in the production of this report. We also wish to acknowledge the overall support of Kathleen Barnett, Vice-President of ICRW, in the final phase of this project.

Contents

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Introduction

With the work of activists, researchers, and countless others, as well as international documents like the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action and CEDAW, violence against women has become a widely recognized human rights, health, and development issue. Given this recognition, research on women experiencing violence and services for these women have spread across the world. However, until recently, men were largely left out of this work. Men were recognized as perpetrators, but, for the most part, researchers did not interview them, funders did not fund programs for them, and activists did not target them. Indeed, for many, violence against women was a women's issue that should be dealt with by and for women.

Recently, this focus on women has begun to broaden rapidly. Men are increasingly acknowledged as a critical part of addressing and ultimately preventing violence against women (Kaufman 2001). On one hand, it is recognized that any attempt to prevent this violence must address men as perpetrators. On the other hand, it is also recognized that we must move beyond men as perpetrators only. Vast numbers of men do not engage in violence against women, and these men, as well as their more violent counterparts, are critical resources and partners in ending violence against women. Additionally, men too suffer from violence against women when their women friends and relatives experience such violence, and even when they themselves perpetrate violence against women.

Men, Masculinities, and Domestic Violence against Women Worldwide

One of the first, and ongoing, research tasks in domestic violence work has been to examine the scope and impact of domestic violence against women. Given this focus, both qualitative and quantitative work on gender-based violence (eg. Odujinrin 1993; Australian Statistics Bureau 1996; WHO multi-country study; and many more) has targeted women respondents almost exclusively. Recently, with the new emphasis on men's roles in development (Greig et al. 2000), research on violence against women has begun to focus more often and more clearly on men as well. This work is based, either explicitly or implicitly, on broader concepts of masculinity or, more accurately, masculinit*ies*. The pluralization of masculinity highlights that there is not a single masculinity, but rather multiple masculinities, which vary within and across time, space, and cultures (Connell 1995). Further, these masculinities are arranged in a hierarchy, with the culturally dominant masculinity, or hegemonic masculinity, at the top.

As in studies with women respondents, those with male respondents substantiate the evidence of high prevalence of domestic violence and men's willingness to talk about violence. Reports from diverse nations such as Thailand, New Zealand and South Africa indicate that 20-44 percent men report being violent towards their wives or intimate partners (Hoffman et al. 1994, Leibrich et al. 1995, Abrahams et al.

1999). For example, in a survey of married men in Bangkok, 20% reported physical abuse towards their wives (Hoffman et al. 1994). In South Africa, 44% of working men surveyed in Cape Town reported physical and/or sexual abuse towards their partners in the last 10 years (Abrahams et al. 1999).

Recent studies indicate that violence against women in general, and domestic violence in particular, is intricately linked to real or perceived fulfillment of masculinities (Moore 1994). It appears that men are more likely to use violence against women if they are unable to fulfill a hegemonic masculinity. During the Gulf War, for example, Israeli men were not involved in combat and rates of sexual offences and violence against women increased in Israel (Klein 1999). Klein suggests that men's inability to fulfill their roles as protectors while their country was under threat undermined their male identity and made them more likely to use violence against women. In East Africa, socioeconomic change has increasingly led to men's inability to fulfill their role as breadwinner while women are increasingly economically independent (Silberschmidt 2001). Silberschmidt contends this situation has resulted in men exaggerating or turning more often to other masculine behaviors in order to compensate for their economic disempowerment. Specifically, men use violence against women in order to express their masculine dominance and have sex with multiple partners in order to express their masculine sexuality.

Men's expression of masculinity is also closely linked to controlling women in their family and ensuring that women fulfill expected roles. Women who do not fulfill required roles or who challenge men's actions threaten men's masculinity, often resulting in a violent reaction. In a study on men and marital violence in Peru, Fuller (2001) found that it was always wives who triggered violent reactions, either because they didn't comply with their part of the marital contract or because they "react[ed] with energy" when the man did not fulfill his. Situations where the wife confronted the man in front of his family or friends were especially likely to provoke violence. Similarly, in narratives from male youth in South Africa, violence usually occurred when youth thought that their girlfriends were threatening their authority or otherwise "stepping out of line" (Wood and Jewkes 2001). Honor killings, when women are killed by male family members for "dishonoring their families" through infidelity and other sexual transgressions, are perhaps the most extreme examples of such behavior.

Violence, therefore, is at one level a sign of a struggle to maintain sense of identity and power. What then constitutes this identity and what is the interrelationship between identity and power? As pointed out earlier, masculinity is not a unitary construct. Ethnographic research across various cultural settings indicates that identity is multiple and individuals often embody contradictory attributes. For example, a 'macho' man be aggressive, virile, controlled, emotional, and/or generous (Cornwall and Lindiframe). Further experience of identity is intrinsically linked to the exercise of power and challenges to the exercise of power are a threat to identity and vice versa (Moore 1994).

To identify strategies for addressing violence, it is imperative to have a deeper understanding of masculinities, norms of power and control and the linkages between the these norms and constructs of masculinity.

Men, Masculinities, and Domestic Violence in India

In 1997, the International Center for Research on Women began a large research program in India that sought to provide reliable and sound information with which to identify and advocate for effective responses to domestic violence. The program comprised the following eight studies:

- An in-depth study of women's experiences with domestic violence in rural Gujarat (Visaria 1999);
- Two studies documenting government and nongovernmental organizations' responses to domestic violence across four states (Mitra 1999; Poonacha & Pandey 1999);

- Four studies analyzing institutional records associated with domestic violence from health facilities, courts, police, and NGOs (Jaswal 2000; Elizabeth 2000; Dave & Solanki 2000; Rao et al. 2000); and
- The first multi-site household survey on domestic violence in India with nearly 10,000 women respondents (INCLEN 2000).

Findings from ICRW's first phase of research demonstrated that domestic violence in India is a widespread problem with an extensive, but inadequate response. In the household survey, nearly one in two women reported experiencing at least one form of domestic violence, and over 40 percent of women reported being slapped, hit, kicked, or beaten by their husbands (INCLEN 2000). These women have access to a proliferation of services, ranging from legal counseling cells to special police cells for women and children; they are also benefiting from a variety of innovative community responses (Mitra 1999; Poonacha & Pandey 1999). However, there are significant gaps in these responses, including the health system's lack of attention to domestic violence and a lack of preventive strategies. These gaps are linked in part to the widespread acceptance of domestic violence as a normal part of marriage.

In order to address the widespread acceptability of domestic violence, social norms and attitudes must be transformed to facilitate the implementation of appropriate and meaningful responses to domestic violence, and ultimately, to prevent it from occurring altogether. The first step in transforming these norms and attitudes is promoting dialogue. Such an exchange must include both men and women and take place within and across families, communities, and government institutions. Thus, in India, as in other countries, men are an integral part of preventing and responding to domestic violence. To ensure men's inclusion, ICRW initiated a group of studies on men and masculinities in India that sought to bring men's voices and experiences to the dialogue on domestic violence.

To date, very little research has been done on men and domestic violence in India. The only known study that addressed this issue is the Male Reproductive Health Survey undertaken in Uttar Pradesh (EVALUATION Project 1997). In the survey, over 30 percent of men reported ever having beaten or physically mistreating their wives and, of these men, 65 percent reported that they had done so within the last year. These rates of reported abuse were consistent with attitudes regarding wives' proper behavior. Sixty-four percent of the men agreed that wives should always follow their instructions and 69 percent agreed that "no verbal insults and/or physical beating should be used against the wife, even if she does not follow instructions given to her by her husband."

ICRW aims to build on the findings from the Male Reproductive Health Survey by exploring how men's attitudes and experiences with domestic violence are shaped by markers of masculinity in four different sites across India. Specifically, the goal of these studies is to explore variations in masculinities and domestic violence across regions and demographic variables, including caste, age, socio-economic status, education, employment, and even sexual orientation. The studies also aim to examine violence by men in the domestic sphere and explore possible linkages between markers of masculinity, behaviors and violence within intimate relationships.

Methods

Multiple study sites were chosen in order to represent a range of gender and development indices in India. The chosen sites include Punjab with low gender and high development indices, Rajasthan with both low gender and development indices, and Tamil Nadu with both high gender and development indices. Delhi was also added to provide a sample of men who have sex with men (MSM). After the four study sites were chosen, partners were selected to undertake individual studies on masculinity and violence at each site.

Each study began with a qualitative phase, where researchers held focus group discussions, undertook in-depth interviews and participant observation, and

collected narratives and case studies. Although the research focus was on men, the research also included focus group discussions and interviews with women in order to explore women's views on masculinity. After the qualitative phase, each partner undertook a household survey. The survey was designed to document men's reporting of domestic violence and further explore links between masculinity and violence found in the qualitative phase. In order to facilitate cross-site analysis, a common questionnaire was designed based on the qualitative findings at all four sites. All partners implemented the common questionnaire and some partners implemented additional, site-specific questionnaires.

The common questionnaire had questions on four domains of information seen as important to exploring links between masculinity and violence. These domains included *markers of masculinity* (including characteristics important for men and notions related to women), *individual behaviors* reported by men, *notions of violence* and reporting of *violent behavior*.

Data from the qualitative phase at each site were analyzed for common themes as well as themes unique to each site. The qualitative data supported our hypothesis that markers of masculinity and men's behaviors are relevant variables to understanding the construct of masculinity. Several commonalities emerged from the qualitative analyses in overall *categories of masculine markers* or characteristics assessed in the quantitative survey. These categories were as follows: *appearance, conduct, responsibility, privilege, and sexuality*.

However, several differences emerged in the qualitative data regarding specific attributes of these characteristics. For instance, courage was the most often cited characteristic of conduct in Rajasthan, whereas boldness was most often cited as important for conduct for the dalit men in the Tamil Nadu sample. Investigators from each site and from ICRW came to a consensus on the need to include a range of representative secondary characteristics for each category of notions, such as *boldness, courage, independence, power and control* as secondary characteristics of conduct. Similarly, a range of tertiary characteristics for each category of notions of masculinity was included. For instance, power was queried as being indicated by financial assets, other being afraid, etc.

Questions on *notions regarding women* included those on women's access to spaces outside the home, including going to work, talking to men, and participating in community activities and politics. In addition, men were asked if women should be allowed to work outside the home and reasons why women should or should not work outside the home. Men were also asked their perceptions of exclusive responsibilities of women and of the wife, and what they regarded as appropriate behavior in relationships with women (such as having many partners, marrying the woman family chooses etc).

Notions of violence were queried with regard to definitions of violence (e.g. when is use of force inappropriate), justifications of violence (e.g. protecting one's resources), sources of conflict between men and women in which violence is seen as a means of resolution, and sources of conflict seen as justifying violence with a wife. Questions on notions of masculinity, notions regarding women and their work, and notions on violence used an agree/disagree answer format.

Within the study focus on spousal violence, the assessment of *violent behaviors* was limited to that of behaviors with their wives in the past year. The investigation of specific violent behaviors was preceded by a set of more general, structured questions related to past year arguments and difficulties with the wife, and interactions with the wife in which the men may have done something that they regretted later or that was indicative of lack of control. These introductory questions were asked to help with preparation of asking the more sensitive questions of violence.

Questions on specific violent behaviors covered restrictions, sanctions and surveillance behaviors (control), emotional violence, physical violence and sexual violence. These questions were collated based on a

review of literature on interpersonal violence and qualitative data from each site. Men were asked how often they had done any of specific violent behaviors *in the past year* and if they had done any of the behaviors ever when the wife was pregnant. Those who answered at least once for physical and sexual violence were asked follow-up questions regarding injury to the wife as a result of the violent behavior.

Description of Studies

In Rajasthan, researchers explored the role of caste in men's conceptions of masculinity and violence. The study was undertaken in two culturally and economically different districts of the state. Differences in emphases of different aspects of masculinity by caste were found. For example, Rajputs emphasized courage and taking part in larger issues that affect society, while Jats emphasized being hard workers and providing for the family. However, across castes there were deep commonalities in men's conceptions of masculinity and violence. For all respondents, violence towards their wives was catalyzed by perceived "failed" masculinity, including disputes over either spouse not performing their role adequately or threats towards the husband's masculine entitlements.

Researchers in Tamil Nadu, in an in-depth study of one village, traced how changes in masculinity occur with socio-economic change. As the traditional land tenure system broke down and industrialization occurred, upper caste landowners moved away or submitted to the increasing dominance of dalits and particularly dalit youth who were better able to succeed in an industrialized environment. During this transformation, violence against women is used by men to assert their masculine dominance vis-à-vis other men. Dalit youth sexually harassed upper caste girls to assert their dominance over upper caste men and closely controlled their own sisters who have incomes from factory work in order to assert their masculinity through control over material resources.

In Punjab, researchers explored the impact of militancy and consequences of broader economic change with increased agricultural growth on domestic violence. The study was undertaken in two districts with varied experience of militancy and agricultural change. A main finding of the study was that the role of women, especially among upper castes in Punjab, is to support the public face of their husbands' masculinity. During the militancy period, when men's masculinity was undermined in the public sphere, women were particularly vulnerable to violence from their husbands in the private sphere. Currently, with industrialization and the Green Revolution, lower castes have access to higher incomes and are better able to emulate higher castes in order to gain status. This process includes lower caste men emulating upper caste men's tight control of women and reporting much higher levels of violence.

In the study of the MSM (men having sex with men) community in Delhi, researchers found that domestic violence, as well as performance of masculine and feminine roles, also takes place in relationships between men. Married MSM also reported perpetrating domestic violence against their wives, indicating that domestic violence is not only common in both heterosexual and homosexual relationships, but that violence may be transmitted between relationships. Researchers also found that MSM were particularly mindful of their vulnerability to violence in the public sphere.

Masculinity and Violence Against Women in Marriage: An Exploratory Study in Rajasthan

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Domestic violence is a pervasive problem in India that cuts across age, education, social class and religion (INCLEN 2000). From the richest classes and highest castes to the poorest slum dwellers, domestic violence is a problem. This problem is not specific to India. The most common type of violence against women worldwide is domestic violence, defined as the physical, emotional and/or sexual abuse of women by their intimate partners (Heise 1999).

In order to develop effective intervention programs and policies, it is vital to study the attitudes and behaviours of both men and women to understand this problem. Yet, most of the available studies concentrate on women's perspective of domestic violence. Studies on prevalence and patterns and the risk factors of domestic violence have viewed the male partner as a perpetrator of the violence, but there are few studies that reveal a male perspective on this issue. Further, research on men and violence is extremely limited in India and theory building on this issue within the Indian context has rarely been attempted. Therefore, there is an urgent need to understand the men's perspectives, along with the factors and circumstances that shape the masculinity of men in India.

Research Questions

The study addressed the following research questions:

- What are the factors, including lifetime experiences and processes and cultural values that shape men's masculine identity in Rajasthan?
- How do these factors affect domestic violence through their influence on masculinity?

In order to address these central questions, the study developed the following objectives:

- To explore the understanding of masculinity and the process of its social construct with special reference to social and cultural values.
- To better understand men's perceptions of women.
- To delineate the understanding and justification for violence with special reference to domestic violence.
- To estimate the prevalence of men's involvement in domestic violence.
- To examine the links between violence and masculinity and develop a conceptual model to address these links.

Study Area

Rajasthan, the largest state in India, is well known for the bravery and rich pageantry of its people as well as its striking landscape. In 1948 and 1949, 22 princely states, including Jaipur and Jodhpur, were merged to form Rajasthan, bringing a long history of powerful dynastic rulers and feudal ways of life to a new Indian state. The state is the homeland of the Rajputs who are famous for preferring death to dishonor in battle and being generous to a fault in friendship. The people of Rajasthan live on a large expanse of rocky land and sandy desert interspersed with for-

*With input from Schachi Bhatt, Aruna Bhatacharya and Shreena Ramanathan.

est and fertile tracts. The state, divided in half by the Aravali Mountains, is covered with shimmering lake palaces, innumerable temples, and fortresses on either side.

With its feudal history Rajasthan also inherited a robust patriarchal culture that remains largely intact, in spite of the work of renowned social reformers who have influenced other parts of India. This history has paved the way for the continued low status of women in the state. For example, Rajasthan had a low sex ratio of 922 women for every 1000 men in 2001, caused in part by neglect of girls and women, including a lack of access to health care. Additionally, Rajasthani women and girls lack access to education and have significantly lower literacy rates than men. For example, only 56 percent of girls aged 6-17 attend school in Rajasthan, while 81 percent of boys aged 6-17 do so (NFHS 2000). Further, 13 percent of Rajasthani women are not involved in any decisionmaking and 81 percent and 83 percent of women respectively need permission to go to the market and visit friends or relatives (NFHS 2000).

In order to capture the geographic and social diversity of Rajasthan, the study targeted two distinctly different districts, namely Churu and Bhilwara. Churu, a desert district in the north-eastern part of the state, is one of the most economically backward districts of Rajasthan. A newcomer to this region would feel as though time stands still. The region is completely dependent on rain, which comes rarely. The vast stretches of sand dunes and parched grounds are visible to the ends of the horizon.

Bhilwara, a plains district in the southwestern part of Rajasthan, is more developed than Churu. In the last few years, new industries, especially textile mills, have grown in Bhilwara. This growing urban sector is fostering a dramatic change in the culture of the people. One can see modern attitudes being practiced alongside older rural traditions. For example, although inter-caste marriages are not yet common, inviting people of other castes to weddings has become prevalent.

Methods

In keeping with the methods of the other three studies on men, masculinity, and domestic violence in India, this study consisted of a qualitative phase followed by a quantitative phase. Some pilot work was also conducted at the beginning to gain insight into the local dialect used to understand the meanings, perceptions, attributes and factors influencing masculinity. After becoming acquainted with the local context, the qualitative phase was initiated. The qualitative methods included informal group discussions, key informant interviews, focus group discussion, in-depth case studies, narratives, and role-plays. The qualitative data collection was stratified by religion, namely Hindu and Muslim and for Hindus by caste (table 1). Caste groupings included Jat, Rajput, and others.

After the qualitative phase, the quantitative phase, which consisted of a household survey, began. The questionnaire had three core components, including a basic demographic and household module, a mas-

Table 1
Qualitative data collection design:

Method	Hindu				Muslim	Total
	Jat	Rajput	Others	Mixed		
Focus Group Discussion	1	7	5	18	9	**40**
Informal Group Discussion	2	1	1	7	2	**13**
Personal History	2	6	8	1	5	**22**
In-depth Interview	0	3	0	0	14	**17**
Case Study	0	3	2	0	0	**5**

culinity module, and a violence module. The masculinity component sought men's individual perceptions on the essential characteristics of masculinity as well as reporting of individual behavior. The violence component collected information on episodes of restrictions and sanctions, emotional, physical and sexual violence towards the respondent's wife. The survey also collected information on men's understanding of domestic violence and their perceptions of women in general and their wives specifically, with a special focus on women's work.

After discussing the objectives and methods of the study with local leaders in each study village, 486 married men aged 16 to 65 were interviewed for the survey. Special care was taken to ensure anonymity and a non-judgmental atmosphere doing the interviews. Additionally, a special effort was made to ensure that the respondents were fully aware of and comfortable with the nature of the study.

Understanding Masculinity

Performance of masculine roles and responsibilities

Men's roles and responsibilities were largely understood through three main roles: those of provider, protector, and procreator. The performance of these roles and responsibilities emerged as a critical factor in men's understanding of masculinity; 99.8 percent of men agreed that they are an essential part of masculinity, and 66 percent of men ranked these roles and responsibilities as *the most* essential aspect of masculinity.

In the domestic sphere, the **provider** role was understood as being a hard worker through earning money and providing social status for the family. The Jat perception of being a provider was also closely linked to satisfying a wife sexually, and to accomplish this it is essential to have a strong, steely body. However, for Rajput men being a hard worker and earning for the family is not as important as gaining social status and prestige for the family. For them, social status and prestige stems from having a moustache, being courageous and taking part in issues that concern society.

According to a 35-year-old respondent from a village, the most critical aspect of performing the provider role is ensuring that women did not have to go out to work. *"A man is one who earns and a women does the household work (Mard wo hota hai jo kamata hai aur aurat ghar ka kaam karti hai)."* The conception of masculinity that results in this clear division of gender roles is closely linked to girls' access to education. Boys are educated because they must fulfill their role as providers, but girls will do household work and thus do not need advanced schooling:

> *In our community, women do not go out, nor do they work outside the house like other women do because we do not like it. In our village we had a primary school so they used to study till primary and later stay back at home. (Hamare samaj me aurat bahar nahi jati hai, nahi bahar service karti hai, jaise aur aurate karti hai, wo hum logon ko acha nahi lagta hai. Vaise hamare gaon me primary school tha to padti thi uske baat ghar par rahati thi.)* [a farmer in Churu district]

The role of the provider had a special importance for the farming community, members of which mostly expressed the masculine quality of man as a hardworking character. Farmers in Rajasthan, especially in Churu, have seen the disaster of famine and large numbers of men migrating from rural to urban areas in search of employment. In this context, the idea of being hardworking and, thus, an earner and provider for the family is a critical and difficult part of masculine identity. Failing as a provider and hardworking man contributes to feelings of remoteness and dejection which often compel men to blame God, who they feel is the root cause by not providing enough rains.

> *The one who is the most hardworking and taking care of the world's hunger is a real man. A farmer*

is a caretaker. (Jo sabse jyada mehanati ho jo duniya ko paal raha ho vahi mard hai. Kisan palanhar hai.) [same respondent]

The role of **procreator** is closely tied to masculine sexuality. Having children emerged as a universal sign of masculinity. Ninety-seven percent of respondents agreed that to have children is an important part of fulfilling the responsibilities of men in the family. Interestingly, this number dropped sharply to 57 percent of men agreeing that having a male child is important. It is possible that this is because many men view having a male child as the woman's responsibility only.

Sexual prowess in general also emerged as a critical aspect of the procreator role. Any sexual weaknesses are a glaring a sign of unmanliness for all groups. Men in rural areas, especially, believe that a strong man is understood in terms of his capacity to satisfy his wife sexually. Women are seen as sexually voracious, unable to be satisfied even by four or five men. The man who is able to satisfy and control a woman from going to other men is considered masculine. Interestingly, sexual prowess was not defined in terms of multiple partners. Ninety-nine percent of men agreed that being sexually faithful to one's wife was important. As one Muslim man stated, *"There should be sexual restriction. Not that he should urinate here and there." (Langot ka pavand hona chahiye. Yeh nahi ke yaha be pisap kar dhe, waha bhi pisap kar dhe)."*

In the domestic sphere, the protector is viewed as a fearless and courageous man who protects the honor of the household by protecting the children and women in the family. A man who is not able to protect his wife is considered unmanly and incapable of sustaining a family. Men said that it is their duty to be the protector because women are weaker.

Closely linked to the need to protect women is the need to control them. Men feel that a woman has to be controlled and kept at home so that society does not say that women in the household are undisciplined and moving around freely. Therefore, women are not supposed leave their homes alone. Women are also considered incapable of working in rough environments, such as the armed forces. Men also believed that even in local government, the responsibilities of a woman who is elected to the position of a s*arpanch* (village headperson), would be limited to administrative tasks:

A woman only signs, all the work is done by her man (husband). Neither are women admitted into the army nor are they stationed in the frontiers. They are only limited to the office. (Aurate to kewal sign karti hai, sara kaam unke aadmi karta hai. Aaj din tak paramveer chakra, Veer chakra, jo bhi mila, wo aadmiyon ko hi mila. Auraton ko fauj me bhi barti nahi karte, nahi unko kabhi kisi sarhad par lagaya. Weh kewal office thak he seemit hai.) [Jat focus group]

In the public sphere, the major roles valued by men in Rajasthan are provider and protector; men who are guardians of the community are considered real men. People tend to accept and follow men who are courageous, bold and take interest in issues that affect the community. Such men in the long run start to control other men and provide leadership and dignity from the family to the country at large. For example, a Muslim respondent stressed the mental attributes of leadership. To him a man is one who is a leader in the area, and abides by his words, walks on his own decided path and earns on his own ability. He would be one who commands respect in society.

In the public sphere, protecting the country is universally believed to be an important part of men's responsibility as protector. Ninety-nine percent of men agreed that protecting your country was important and 80 percent of men ranked it as the most important characteristic of men's responsibilities outside the family. This finding is not surprising. Rajasthan is a border state with martial communities (like Rajput and Jat) and a large number of men who join the armed forces. Rajasthan also has a long history of martyrdom and a strong sense of patriotism.

Men expressed the role of a social protector in terms of war and battlefield scenarios, including martyrdom, in the eventuality of a cross-border conflict. They feel that a man is one who, in spite of knowing the gravity of the situation in the battlefield, would still go to the front, fight, and maybe even get shot. The men perceive that it is of the utmost importance to protect the country at any cost, even if it means giving their life for it. They feel that it is not enough just to go to the battlefield, but that a man must strive to get gallantry awards in his effort to protect his country.

Men's roles as protector and provider are also seen in the every day life of communities. The men in Rajasthan feel that a courageous man is one who would take up the role of a social worker and provide for the needs of the community. To them, real men do work that contributes to the good of their community, such as laying pipelines for drinking water, taking part in famine relief efforts, and providing electricity.

Masculinity as opposition to other masculinities as well as femininity

The data from Rajasthan confirm the understanding of masculinity in terms of opposition to femininity, as well as in reference to other masculinities. In fact, this study suggests that in Rajasthan the conception of preferred masculinity is defined more in reference to other men then in the reference to women. In addition, as in other studies, the concept of masculinity appears to be fluid in nature and its expression, with its construction and reconstruction changing with changing contexts.

The understanding of feminine vis-à-vis the masculine often, if not always, emerges with a negative expression. For example, men surveyed feel that women have less thinking capacity, are soft by nature, are incapable of venturing out alone, lack courage, have no tolerance to withstand adversity, and are weak-hearted. Masculinity is the positive opposite of these characteristics, such as courageous, able to with stand adversity, and strong-hearted. However, to be more or really masculine, the comparison must be made to other men. For example, as one Rajput man stated, *"Mard means a man who has qualities that are not found in a normal men. He is one who has extra qualities and lives in discipline."*

This phenomenon was seen across the broad spectrum of masculinity. Possessing certain traits or performing in a certain way is masculine, but performing or possessing them in an even better way is even more masculine. For example, in reference to the role of protector one Rajput man said,

> *Masculinity* (mardangi) *and men* (mard) *are two different things. For instance, all soldiers fight in war but only few win accolades… even though they all are men. Only those men who win awards have masculinity in them. A masculine man thinks either kill 10-20 people or face death.*

Similarly, in reference to the role of procreator, having children is masculine, but having the number of children that one can afford to bring up is more masculine. This can be seen in the response of a Muslim man, who stated that *"Having too many children is not masculinity. Produce as many children as you can bring up. Producing too many children is not a sign of manhood."*

Certain physical traits are also seen as indicators of greater masculinity. For instance, in most Rajasthani communities, the moustache has become a symbol of pride and prestige among men. As a 45 year-old Gujjar respondent stated,

> *A man with a moustache is courageous; he is mostly true to what he says. A man without moustache is a bad man, moreover his words cannot be believed. (Munch wala aadmi himatwala, wah baat ka sacha kareeb kareeb nikalta hai. Bina munch ka aadmi kharab hota hai, tatha uski baat par vishwas nahi kiya ja sakta hai.)*

Leadership and courage

Leadership and courage emerged as key interwoven masculine characteristics in the Rajasthani context. A leader must have courage and a man with courage

always has certain elements of leadership, although not necessarily a mass following. As stated in a focus group discussion by rural men, *"A man is one who is a leader in the area, and abides by his words, walks on his own decided path and earns on his own ability. He would be one who commands respect in society."*

The common understanding of courage cited by men in Rajasthan is archaic in nature, with overt references to the former glory of the Rajputana culture. The references are mostly associated with historical personalities like Maharana Pratap and other kings and emperors. The following Rajasthani saying among Raputs reflects of the typical understanding and importance of courage: *"If a woman gives birth to a son he should be like Maharana Pratap; Akbar used to sleep under covers, because Maharana Pratap used to appear to him in his dreams in the form of a snake on his pillow (Janani jane to puut jan aido Rana Pratap, Akbar suto aurdke jaane sirane saap)."*

Nearly 89 percent of the men agree upon courage (defined as taking risks for others) as an essential attribute of masculinity. By comparison, a slightly smaller proportion (85 percent) of men agreed to boldness (defined as taking risks for self) as an important aspect of conduct. For example, going to the battlefield for national interests is a sign of courage in relation to masculinity. Being martyred on the battlefield is an even greater sign of masculinity, not because the man took risks for himself, but because he was courageous and took risks for his community, thus glorifying his family name for all eternity.

Apart from the idea of bravery and martyrdom Rajasthani men also feel that a real man is one who would take a lead in social issues. Such men, they feel, would fearlessly move ahead to stand up to the situation and speak the truth no matter what the outcome. Similarly, resolving crisis and conflict situations is also an act of courage and leadership, as reflected in the opinions of men of mixed caste groups:

> *If five men are fighting and one man stands up to silence the rest, such a man is a real man. (Agar paanch aadmi lad rahe hai aur koyi akela khada hokar sabko shant kare wo hi mard hai.)*

According to men in the Jat community, a brave man does not appear different in a crowd because of his looks, but stands out because of his actions. A man is recognized by his bravery in times of need and is always looked upon as one who can provide leadership in times of distress. Such a man is one who has the courage to tolerate adversities and uses his courage to support the weak.

Muslim men laid stress on the mental attributes of leadership. To them, a man is one who is a lead personality in the area and abides by his words, walks on his own decided path and earns on his own ability and does not shy away when the time comes to speak the truth. He would be a just man imparting impartial judgements and makes the people of his village accept his words and ideas and also unites them by his efforts. In other words, he becomes the headman of the village because he is the most masculine of men. Such a man would also have the added quality of a

Table 2: Reporting of Violence Types and Frequency (%)

#	Forms of Violence (Broad Definition)	Total	Frequency		
			Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently
1.	Control	60.5	35.0	33.7	31.3
2.	Emotional Violence	73.3	17.1	34.3	48.6
3.	Physical Violence	37.4	63.7	23.6	12.6
4.	Sexual Violence	57.4	26.2	39.8	34.1

Source: Field Survey, 2001

good speaker who expresses his ideas lucidly and convincingly. He would be one who commands respect in society.

This understanding of masculinity in relation to leadership and courage is more prevalent in the Rajput community, the community of the traditional ruling caste. Even though the caste hierarchy has changed to a great extent, the definition of a real man as a leader is still common among them. Their perception of being a courageous leader stems from the caste hierarchy of the past, where wealth was a factor in controlling and dominating people. In this context they feel a leader can be a man who has earned a lot of wealth or has inherited a lot of wealth. Such people they feel can even join politics.

Violence

Domestic violence is prevalent among the families studied. This violence takes many forms such as threats, name calling, isolation, withholding of money, power, privileges, and actual or threatened physical harm or sexual assault. Such violence is prevalent and largely accepted part of family life in India.

Definitions of Violence: The acts of violence against women have been classified as *control* (restrictions, sanctions and surveillance); *emotional violence*; *physical violence;* and *sexual violence*.

The broad definition of violence involves a comprehensive module of these four forms of violent behaviors, implemented to understand the dimension of reporting by men. Men were asked how often they had engaged in any of the specific violent behaviors in the past one year.

In addition to broad definitions of violent behavior, a more narrow interpretation is also used for this study because certain behaviors, such as scream or shout, may not be widely accepted as violent behaviors. For instance, the restrictive definition of control includes only those men who reported at least one control behavior frequently. Similarly, for emotional violence, the restrictive definition includes any one behavior of emotional violence inflicted frequently. No restrictive definition has been used for physical violence because any one act of physical violence occurring at any interval of time, whether it causes any injury or not, clearly indicates violence against women. Finally, any one behavior of sexual violence inflicted frequently or any one behavior of sexual violence involving use of physical force has been included in the restrictive definition of sexual violence.

Prevalence and pattern of violence:

Nearly 87 percent of the men reported that they had engaged in at least one violent behavior in the past year. On further exploring the forms of violence, emotional violence (73.3 percent) emerged to be the most commonly inflicted form of violence against women by men. However, the prevalence of other forms of violence was also high. Fifty-seven percent of men reported at least one sexual violence behavior, 37 percent reported at least one physical violence behavior and at least 61 percent reported one control behavior in the past year.

Table 3: Reporting of Different Forms of Violence by Educational Gap Between Husband and Wife

#	Forms of Violence	Educational Gap					
	(overall)*	Both Illiterate	Equal Education	Husband more educated 1-5 yrs	6-10 yrs	11-18 yrs	Wife more educated
1.	Control	82.2	76.9	84.4	93.5	83	91.3
2.	Emotional Violence	72.2	69.2	71.9	75.2	68.1	87
3.	Physical Violence	30	30.8	35	44.4	29.8	57
4.	Sexual Violence	28.9	61.5	59.4	57.4	69.9	69.6

***** inflicted any one behavior during last one year

Source: Field Survey, 2001

Even on defining violence in restrictive terms, the overall incidence of violence remained high at 61 percent. Physical (37.4 percent) and restrictive emotional (35.6 percent) violence were widespread forms of violence in comparison to restrictive control (18.9 percent) and restrictive sexual violence (23 percent).

Trends of violence by demographics

Education: Highly educated men (more than 12 years of education) had the lowest reported rate of domestic violence overall, though still substantial at 82 percent. Respondents with mid-level education (six to eight years) reported the highest rate of violence.

Age: The overall incidence of any forms of violence declines significantly only with men over 50 years of age. The highest reported rates were among respondents aged 25-35 years.

Caste: The prevalence of violence did not show any significant variation with respect to the caste of the respondent. The Jat respondents had the lowest reported rate of violence.

Site: There were higher reported rates of violence in urban areas than in rural areas, possibly an effect of urbanization.

Educational gap and violence

It is generally assumed that violence would decline with an increase in educational status. However, the reporting of violence by men does not corroborate this asssumption. The educational gap between husband and wife was also examined as a potential variable in the correlation between status of education and violence (see Table 3).

The educational gap was grouped into four categories:1) both non-literate, 2) equal education, 3) husband more educated, and 4) wife more educated. Category 3, husband more educated, was the most numerous so it was furthered divided into three subdivisions:1) gap of 1-5 years, 2) gap of 6-10 years, and 3) gap of >10 years. Further, although the gap in educational status is the same in the first two categories, the latter, with a higher level of education, is expected to exhibit less violence than non-literate category.

Two interesting findings emerge from the table. One is that sexual violence does not seem to have any association with educational gap. It is possibly more associated with years of education as the reporting is the lowest among the category of both illiterate. It also indicates that sexual violence is frequent within marriage, whatever the educational gap.

Second, women with more education tend to experience more violence. When the woman was more educated, control was found to be considerably higher (91.3 percent) than other groups.

Emotional violence was higher within all the educational gap groups and exceptionally high where the woman was more educated (87 percent). In the gap groups of 1-5 years, 6-10 years and where both the husband and wife were illiterate, emotional violence was high (71.9 percent, 75.2 percent and 72.2 percent respectively).

There was a gradual increase in physical violence with the increase in educational gap except where the educational gap exceeded more than ten years (29.8 percent), peaking at 57 percent for women more educated than their husbands. However there was no difference between the levels of reporting among the first groups of equal education.

Masculinity and Its Linkages to Domestic Violence

"Failed" masculinity

For all castes and religions, domestic violence frequently is linked to men's failure, either real or perceived, to fulfil masculine roles. Such failure is compounded when wives react to a husband's failure by challenging his misconduct. Both the failure itself and the wife's challenges, which undermine his masculinity, make the husband feel humiliated. Men often use violence in these situations to reassert their masculine authority. For example, men often abrogate their responsibilities, playing cards and forcing their wives to do the farm work that the man is supposed to do; or sometimes men come home drunk late in the evening to an impatient wife and hungry children. If the wife reacts to his misconduct by lev-

elling accusations at him in such situations, the end result is often violence. As one respondent stated,

> *"Fights take place on issues of money, [she says] you did not do this, you did not do that you, you did not bring that, yet you came [home] for food, did not earn anything. (Tote ke andar jhagda hote hain, tu ne yeh nahin kiya, tune wo nahin kiya, tu yeh nahin laya, roti khane aa jata hain, kamakar kuch lata nahin.)"*

When a woman asks for money for household expenditures and her husband refuses to give it, a fight will often result. The man in this situation generally feels entitled to the money that he earns and feels that it can be spent at his discretion. The mixed caste groups noted that women's demands for saris and ornaments lead to violence. When a husband is not able to meet his wife's demands for these goods, then the wife questions his ability to provide for her. The man considers these demands a challenge, which can lead to clashes between the husband and wife, and violence against the wife.

Violence resulting from disputes over money and other economic resources is clearly linked to a lack of jobs in the area. Unemployment, according to Muslim men, is an important reason for disputes at home because the inability of the man to earn and provide leads a woman to pester and nag him. Conversely, many Muslim men felt that if everything that is required at the domestic level was available, no disputes would take place. As one respondent stated, *"The house in which there is more scarcity is also the house in which there are more fights. (Jis ghar me tangi jyada hongee us ghar me jhagre bhi jyada honge.)"*

Authority over women

There are certain prescribed responsibilities for women as laid down over time by society at large and the specific community. These differ somewhat by caste and religion, but there are also many common norms in Rajasthan, such as the responsibility of a woman to cook, wash and perform household chores and not venture out of the household arena. When women do not fulfill these general responsibilities or specific wishes or dictates of their husbands, altercations and domestic violence can result. Keeping a wife under control is a common sign of masculinity, and men feel it is the wife's duty to adhere to whatever her husband tells her. In other words, disobedience on the part of a woman results in punishment by the husband. As one respondent stated, *"When the wife is asked to milk the buffalo and she refuses to do so, then fights take place. (Lugai ko bhains ka dudh nikalneko kahen aur wo mana kar de to, baj gaya juta.)"* Or as another put it, *"Keep a wife with respect at home. If she does not stay at home then beat her. There is no other remedy other than this. (Lugai ko ghar par rakho izzat se. Agar ghar par nahi rahe to usko khuto. Iske alawa koi elaaj nahi hai.)"*

Violence as a punishment for women's actions is closely linked to men's sense of entitlement to certain masculine privileges. These entitlements range from having household tasks performed for them to having dowry given to them and their families upon marriage. For example, domestic violence related to women not cooking food properly is linked to men's sense of entitlement to food cooked by his wife in the time and manner that he wants. When women do not perform their tasks properly men feel that it is appropriate and right to punish them accordingly. Many respondents believe that men are especially prone to use violence in such situations when they are drunk. Interestingly, drinking alcohol is considered another masculine entitlement.

Sexuality

Sex is commonly linked to violence both because it is an important arena where men can "fail" at masculinity and because it is considered a masculine entitlement. Men of all groups believe that wives must be sexually available to their husbands. Respondents in the mixed caste groups pointed out that the belief in sexual entitlement often results in violence when a drunken husband returns home and tries to force himself on his wife. Some men also believe that forcing

a women to engage in sexual behaviour enhances a man's sexual satisfaction. As one respondent stated, *"If a man forcibly has sex with his wife it gives him more pleasure, since that which is attained easily does not give pleasure. (Agar aurat ke saat jabardasti karke sambog kare vahi mard hai jo ki aasani se koyi cheez milne par maja nahi aata.)"*

If a man is not sexually satisfied with his wife he may also seek satisfaction from prostitutes or other women. Respondents said that such circumstances cause discord in the family, which, in turn, leads to physical and emotional violence. Some also noted that situations where men are caught with other women often result in violence. Infidelity, either suspected or real, on the part of the wife is especially prone to result in domestic violence. For example, if a husband tells his wife not to socialize with a certain man and she continues her relationship, major disputes will take place between husband and wife.

Women's sexual dissatisfaction can also lead to violence. As discussed above, it is commonly believed that it is highly masculine to satisfy a woman sexually. When men fail at this masculine performance it can result in violence. For example, many men said that a drunken man develops a tremendous urge to have sex, but at night in a drunken state he cannot fulfill his desire. The next day it becomes a problem when his wife mentions the incident or criticizes him. The advice on the part of the wife is considered a threat to his manhood and he may retaliate with violence. A small penis size was also mentioned by many respondents as a reason for being unable to satisfy women sexually. Respondents also contended that when a man is not able to satisfy his wife it makes her irritable and angry, which can lead to disputes.

Conclusion

In Rajasthan, the construction of masculinity across caste and religious groups is clearly located within a broader understanding of the dominant Rajput culture. An important conclusion from the data on masculinity markers is that masculinity is a set of independent attributes but is a weave of complementary and sometimes contradictory attributes. For example, an important marker of sexuality is frequency and duration, which is interrelated to physique, which in turn is an important marker of physical appearance. Secondly, the qualitative data highlights that masculinity is a relational concept not only to women but to other men. All men may have attributes but only some men have the attributes in perfection—a soldier who wins medals, a leader who leads in times of distress, and so on. Thirdly, while the prevalence of violence is high, the dynamics for this violence is largely due to non-performance or 'failed masculinity.'

Masculinity and Domestic Violence in a Tamil Nadu Village

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This study explores how an ongoing economic and socio-political transformation in Thirunur[1] village has manifested itself in changing notions and practices of masculinity and violence against women. In so doing, the study maps out changes that are taking place over time across castes, while focusing on the ways in which people construct and negotiate gender in relation to caste and class identities.

In particular, there are two important aspects to the transformation in Thirunur. First, in the village, as shall be elaborated later, there is the near demise of the hegemonic masculinity of upper caste men with a corresponding decline of their social, political, and economic domination. This decline among upper caste men is accompanied by a reconfiguration of the masculinity of dalit youth. Second, there is new increasing large-scale employment of women in the industrial sector. Both of these major changes in Thirunur have altered masculinities, as well as domestic violence.

Before proceeding to the results of the study, it is important to outline the conceptual framework within which the study was pursued. Masculinity—both as ideological construct(s) and as a set of practices—is not homogenous or uniform across time, space, and social class. Its articulation is contingent upon context. Given this, a distinction must be drawn between the prototypical idealized variant of masculinity and its other forms. The dominant model or hegemonic masculinity in any society is often an ideal realizable by a very small group of men who control power and wealth. Such a hegemonic variant emerges as the norm against which other 'subordinate' variants of masculinity are placed and assessed. The 'subordinate' variants of masculinity are valid for most of the population who remain relatively powerless, even while they are complicit in sustaining the hegemonic masculinity at a broader level. In other words, masculinity not merely mediates the relationship between men and women, but between men and men. Those men who do not or cannot conform to the hegemonic masculinity are treated by those who do as effeminate and inferior.

Methods

In the pilot phase of the study, the field workers established contacts with the people in the study area and gathered information about their daily lives, especially with regard to caste and gender. The initial interaction with the village headmen, the panchayat president, panchayat councilors and ward members, as well as with the office bearers of the local women's organization, gave the field researchers close access to both dalit and non-dalit households. This initial work gave insight into changes over the past two to three decades in the occupation patterns of different castes, particularly among the dalits, as well as information on different constructions of masculinity. However, it did not provide much information on the specifics of the socio-political transformation of the village.

[1]Thirunur is a pseudonym.

Noting these limitations, a series of informal interviews was conducted with people of different castes with the objective of gathering information about the changes that they have witnessed in the village and their families, especially those changes resulting from women going out to work in industries for the first time. Simultaneously, participatory observation was used to collect data on temple festivals, sports tournaments, love marriages, male-bonding by the youth, and other important village events. Semi-structured interviews and case studies were also conducted among men and women of different castes in order to map out variations in people's perceptions about and practices of masculinity.

From these methods we were able to identify distinct groups for inclusion in focus group discussions and our analysis in general. These groups were determined based on different practices and articulations of issues related to masculinity and violence and fell primarily along caste and age lines. Specifically, four male groups were identified as follows:

1. **Dalit youth:** This group included dalit men aged between 15-24 years who were both employed and unemployed. Almost all of these men were still unmarried.
2. **Dalit elders:** The dalit elders included men over 60 years old, mainly agricultural laborers who were able to share their experience of subordination in the times of upper caste domination. This category also includes the next generation of dalit men who were 35 to 60 years of age.
3. **Non-dalit youth:** This group consisted of upper caste youth in the village, such as the chettiars, the vanniars, the yadavas, and the nayakkars. They mainly take care of family agricultural land. They were mainly unmarried and were in the age group of 15-24 years.
4. **Non-dalit elders:** This group consisted of non-dalit men between 35-60 years of age. The older generation could recollect their past domination based on caste hierarchies in the village, while the middle aged men recounted the socio-economic transformation. Like their youth counterparts, these men's employment primarily consisted of agricultural work on family land.

Similarly, groups of women were identified based on their resisting or complying with men's perceptions and practices of masculinity. The women's groups also fell along caste and age, as well as employment lines. The women's groups were as follows:

1. **Non-dalit working girls:** These girls, aged 17-25, were from different upper castes. All of the study participants were unmarried, reflecting the fact that the majority of these girls were unmarried. The group consisted mainly of girls who worked in the nearby pharmaceutical estate, as well as some girls who were agricultural laborers.
2. **Non-dalit women:** This group included non-dalit married and widowed women 28 to 60 years old. These women worked mainly at home, while some also worked on family farms or as agricultural laborers for others.
3. **Dalit working girls:** These dalit girls were 17-25 years old and unmarried. All were employed at the pharmaceutical estate and, unlike the non-dalit girls, none worked in agriculture.
4. **Dalit women:** This group targeted dalit women 35 to 60 years of age. While there were some widows in this group, others were married women and some headed their households. The elderly women were primarily agricultural laborers, while the middle-aged women were engaged in a variety of occupations.

The final phase of the fieldwork consisted of a household survey of married men. Initially, a list of all

Table1 Sample Frame of the Survey:

	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total
Total number of men	872	384	1286
Number of married men	369	189	558
Sample number of married men	157	78	235
Sample as % of married men	42.54	41.26	42.11

households with appropriate respondents in the village was gathered using a one-page questionnaire. Through the questionnaire, basic demographic details and the occupation of household members were gathered and provided a profile of the study population. Then a detailed questionnaire on the notions and practices of masculinity as well as the incidence and intensity of domestic violence was administered to a random sample of 235 married men in the village. Additionally, the sample was stratified by caste in order to capture both dalit and non-dalit men.

The Study Site

The study site, Thirunur village, is in Chengalpattu district, Tamil Nadu. Residents of Thirunur are divided into two main areas of residence based on caste. One section is the 'colony', which refers to the streets where dalits live. It is a large, expanding area with the occupation of more puramboke, (i.e., common lands). The dalit populace is mainly made of Paraiyars. The other section is the 'Oor,' where all other castes live, including mudaliars, chettiars, acharis, and yadavas (konars). There are also vettai naicker, a caste of 'tribal' origin, who inhabit a street between the two village sections.

Traditionally, Thirunur was a zamindari village, which subsisted on agriculture. The term "zamindari" refers to the zamindars, a high caste group of landowners that lived far from the village and rented the land to another high caste group, the mudaliars. Lower caste men were agricultural laborers and subtenants of the mudaliars while dalits were agricultural laborers. Abolition of zamindari put an end to the rule of the zamindars by proxy. The direct tenants, the mudaliars, became landowners either by paying a paltry sum to the zamindars as a token price for their land or by claiming occupancy rights. The lower caste men continued to be tenants or agricultural laborers of the mudaliars.

Thirunur's close proximity to the major city of Chennai has resulted in a shift from agriculture to industry in recent years. Thirunur, previously part of a rural hinterland, now provides labor and land to an ever expanding urban area. Many Thirunur residents commute daily to jobs in the city and Thirunur itself is becoming industrialized with industries moving in from the city. For example, in the early 1990s, an industrial estate with roughly 50 pharmaceutical production units was built near Thirunur by a state-owned industrial promotional organization. The number of garment and leather manufacturers has also ballooned in the area, especially after Tamil Nadu's recent boom in garment and leather exports. Many new types of industries, like software and chemical, have also been introduced in the area.

This shift from agriculture to industry has resulted in a major shift in employment. Though the number of unskilled workers who could be absorbed in the new industries is much lower than those of skilled workers, the sheer number of new jobs has resulted in employment for a considerable number of workers from the surrounding villages, particularly in the low wage segments. The prevailing work conditions for industrial laborers are unregulated, leaving workers vulnerable to abusive conditions. Nonetheless, the positive perceptions of the industrial jobs have weaned away much of the former agricultural labor force. Importantly, the industries employ large numbers of women from all castes, as well as men. Further, some industries particularly target women workers who are taking up industrial employment for the first time. For example, the pharmaceutical estate employs about 3000 women from surrounding villages.

Some agriculture survives in the area although with notable changes. The shift of workers towards industry has resulted in scarcity of agricultural laborers and, therefore, a large increase in agricultural wages. In turn, this wage increase has rendered agriculture with hired labor uneconomical, and large tracts of land remain uncultivated. Simultaneously, the increased market value for land, due to newfound industrial uses, has encouraged landowners to leave the land fallow until a profitable sale materialises. Thus, although agricultural wages are high, agricultural employment is not promising in terms of regularity. Land put to overall non-agricultural use (i.e. fallow or industrial) in Thirunur is unusually high, about two fifths of the

total area, and increasing. As one resident claimed, "Thirunur today is neither a village nor a city like Chennai, but lies somewhere inbetween."

Land that is still cultivated is not cultivated very intensively, largely due to irrigation limitations. Rains come during the South West monsoon or the Samba season. During the monsoon, crops are irrigated naturally and water from the rains for future irrigation is stored in tanks. However, prolonged neglect and widespread encroachment of the water tanks has resulted in a reduced storage capacity. This situation has resulted in a predominance of smallholdings with cultivation of a single paddy crop only during the monsoon. Additionally, the labor force that continues to work in agriculture consists primarily of the relatively older generation, with the younger generation undertaking industrial work.

Constructions and Practices of Masculinities

Dalit masculinity

As dalits' roles in Thirunur have shifted with industrialization, so has their masculine identity. This shift can be seen in the difference in the occupation patterns of the dalit youth and elders. Elder dalits, who came of age before the major shift to industry, closely identify themselves with agricultural labor. They clearly remember the past where the picture of dalit masculinity was men in loincloths going very early in the morning to the houses of their mudaliar masters. Once there, the dalit men would labor the entire day, collecting cow dung, grazing cattle, and running errands, all under the supervision of their masters. During this time, their masters fed them in the morning and at noon. It is in feeding them that their untouchability and subordinate masculinity was reiterated powerfully. As one elder dalit man of 55 years explained,

> *They used to pour gruel from a height into the palm-leaf cups we held. Even after pouring the gruel without touching the cups held by us, they would not take the vessels straight away back inside. They would keep it outside, rinse it with dung, purify it and only then would take the vessels inside.*

For many of the older dalits, memories of the past are primarily of deprivation and humiliation.

For the next generation of dalit elders (age 35-55), their masculine identity was centered around contesting upper caste dominance, primarily by ceasing to work for mudaliars and getting direct access to and ownership of land. Many dalits started to rent land from mudaliars as sharecroppers while also supplementing their family incomes with non-farm employment. Over time they were able to buy land from other caste men. They also accessed land by encroaching common areas. Today, while there are not many large dalit land holdings, there are few dalits with no access to land. During this same period, most mudaliars left Thirunur, first renting their lands to dalits and others and eventually selling their land in parcels over time.

However, for dalits, the old social structure and its emphasis on agriculture continue to symbolize subordination and a lack of male power to contest dominant upper caste masculinity. Even while their parents consider owning and cultivating land as an important indicator of their raising social status the dalit youth take special pride in stating that they do not know how to till the land. For instance, a 45-year-old middle-aged dalit man remarked,

> *These days [dalit] men do not work for landowners (upper caste). They also don't allow their parents to work. They go to work in the government, in alathur companies, sculpting in Mahabalipuram, construction work, laying roads etc. Because of this they are no longer slaves and live free.*

Thus, for today's dalit youth, their masculine identity is tied to freeing themselves from the past system altogether and obtaining income outside of agriculture. Their relative disdain for agriculture work is also seen in the survey where only 75 percent of dalits, com-

pared to 94 percent of non-dalits, agreed that farm employment could be an avenue to earn money. Moreover, the dalit youth work to separate themselves from their fathers and grandfathers' subordinate history by proving themselves to be the new dominant group in the community. In other words, dalit youth are attempting to redefine the framework of hegemonic masculinity by challenging the previously dominant masculinity of the upper caste mudaliars.

One central way that dalit youth assert their newly dominant masculinity and separation from past dalit subordination is through their appearance. They wear jeans, tee shirts, caps and shoes to mark their personality as distinct from their fathers who wear only dhotis and lungis and grandfathers who still wear loincloths and towels. Apart from their dress, they are also conscious of their physique and take care to maintain trim and fit bodies. They do body building exercises regularly and take a keen interest in sports. According to them, an ideal man is someone who should have a well-built body and a good physique.

Dalit youth have also redefined their male identity by smoking tobacco and drinking liquor. While the dalit elders did drink liquor and also smoked, these habits were not assimilated to display manliness. This is evident from the fact that the older dalit men always chose a discreet/secluded place for drinking. In addition, the elderly dalit women enjoyed the same space as men in consumption of liquor. As a 65-year-old dalit man stated, in the earlier times drinking had to be a discreet activity and not to be displayed as valor, particularly in front of the upper caste men, as it could be construed as disrespect shown to upper caste male power. Some of them do feel that an ideal man is someone who should not have any 'bad habits,' (e.g., smoking and drinking) but at the same time they feel that the men in their village are respected and feared only if they are identified with those 'bad habits'. Drinking liquor and smoking in front of the superiors and the elders are also considered by the dalit youth as symbols of boldness and violation of social norms. It is pertinent to note here that 41 percent of dalit men agreed that breaking social norms is a marker of displaying boldness.

Dalit youths' attitude towards work and career is marked by a great degree of disinterest, as well as a particular dislike of agriculture. They seem to resist (are unable to fit into) a hierarchical modern production system. Getting supervised in work is an affront and anathema to them. There are numerous instances of physical assault of supervisors by the youth and there are also cases of dalit youth stealing from the companies. This phenomenon is amply reflected in the quantitative data. Nearly 76 percent of dalit men agree that retaliation is a marker of their masculine dignity. By comparison, 55 percent of non-dalit men agreed to the same. Further, even those without jobs are confident that they can make money as and when they need it. Further, their options do not exclude bootlegging or other unlawful activities.

To the extent possible, the quantitative survey confirms these observations. Physical appearance is an important marker of masculinity for about 95 percent of dalit men, whereas only 73 percent of the sample non-dalit men subscribed to this view. The acute difference in the notion of physical appearance as a marker of masculinity between these two caste groups is discernible even at the disaggregated level. Dalits have reported higher levels of agreement for physique, physical strength, facial hair, style, dress (what he wears) as markers of masculinity. Within these characteristics, physical strength and dress are the two notions that have attracted the highest levels of agreement among dalit men. Non-dalit men, on the other hand, have the lowest levels of agreement that style (just about 50 percent) and what they wear (66 percent) are important markers of masculinity. Similarly, the agreement level among dalits on the notion of physique as a masculine attribute—88 percent—is much higher than the 69 percent agreement level among non-dalits. Bodybuilding is another important notion of masculinity among dalits (63 percent agreement). Participation in sports is much less important to the masculine notions of non-dalit men (36 percent agreement) than dalits (58 percent agreement).

For dalit youth, falling in love with a girl and winning the girl's heart is also an essential aspect of successful masculinity. Particularly, in the spe-

cific caste dynamics that exist in the village, dalit youth perceive enticing the upper caste girls as a major challenge to their manhood and they consider it a victory if they can fall in love with and marry the upper caste girls. Further, one of the important ways in which the dalit youth distinguish themselves from other men is through indulging in various forms of violence, ranging from petty quarrels to sexual harassment of upper caste girls.

Besides harassing the upper caste girls, attempts at striking terror in the minds of their opponents seem to be at the core of their violent activities. Although many dalit youth do not consider violence as an important aspect of manhood, they admit that only the violent men are respected and feared and a male is expected to be a violent being. They do not care much what the elders in their own families or in the village would think of their activities. Many of these attributes of the dalit youth are resented by many of the dalit elders. In other words, despite the overall ascendancy of the dalits as a community, it is the dalit youth who have reworked certain male notions of power and have come to represent the new masculinity in the village.

Non-dalit men: subordinated masculinity?

The non-dalit elders seem to be reconciled to the fact that they have to put up with dalit assertion. They have no avenues to complain and even seem rather afraid to provoke confrontation with dalit men. Perhaps as a manifestation of this, eighty-three percent of non-dalit men say that they do not get angry easily and nearly 64 percent of them do not quarrel with other men. A near majority—about 97 percent—say that they ask for help when they need it. As another indicator of their reticence, only 46 percent of them have said that they are impatient; and only 55 percent of non-dalit men agreed that retaliation is a marker of their masculine dignity, versus 76 percent of dalit men. Similarly, only 71 percent of them take risk to get what they want compared to 90 percent of dalit men.

The general impression one gets of non-dalit youth is a dispirited lot—with little drive, poor academic accomplishments, and limited opportunities. Despite a desire for other professions, most are restricted by obligation to taking care of family agricultural land. Non-dalits' caste identity is now a liability. On the one hand they cannot enjoy the traditional privileges of their caste and on the other, the notion of caste honor inhibits free mobility. As a result, they seem to carry a notion of honor, which prevents them from working outside of agriculture. This dilemma was articulated by a 20-year-old mudaliar youth:

> *Dalit youth take up any job in companies and institutions. They dress up well and go to their workplace—change their dress and sweep or clean—they then switch over to their decent attire and come out. He may be a sweeper after all but convey an impression that he works in the factory or office. But the non-dalit boy cannot take up sweeping. He cannot take work of servile nature.*

Non-dalits' loss of privileges comes out clearly from the quantitative data. Only 59 percent of them agree that being a decision maker is a privilege of man as compared to an agreement level of 83 percent for dalits. Similarly, only 65 percent of non-dalit males agree that they are able to go and do what they want whereas about 75 percent of dalit males agree to this notion.

Non-dalit youth are constantly compared with the upcoming dalit youth. One young non-dalit woman remarked that dalit youth are very smart and dress up well, while another non-dalit woman says she insists on her husband wearing pants, t-shirt, and a belt and commented that now non-dalit men are trying to learn from 'others'. In short, the dalit youth provide the role model to which non-dalits have to conform. Non-dalits also fall in love but do not seem to romanticize as much as dalit youth. They are more likely to marry a person of their parents' choice.

For non-dalit men, the role of a protector of women is especially important to their construction of masculinity. In the non-dalit communities of Thirunur, the capacity of the men to protect either themselves or their women is low. As we have noted earlier, dalit youth tease and harass non-dalit women and get away

with it. Although the non-dalit youth are unable to meet the requirements of ideal manhood due to intimidation by the dalits, they do consider these as important aspect of maleness. For instance, a 20-year-old mudaliar youth stated, *"Honor is the most important thing for a man. If he loses that what is the point in living. My wish is that my sisters should live under my control."*

The contrasting attitudes and masculinities of dalit and non-dalit youth are represented well by their respective extracurricular activities, which both groups consider to be a central component of their lifestyles. The dalit youth use the school ground to play volleyball both in the morning and the evening. They usually divide themselves into two teams and key players rarely switch teams. The seriousness that they attach to the game is evident in their efforts to win in both district and state level tournaments. The dalit youth not only pay attention to promote the team sport but also seem to take special pride in proving themselves before the village and the regional community. The non-dalit youth, on the other hand, have an equal passion for 'mangatha,' a gambling game with playing cards. On any given day, those who do not report to work will join the mangatha game. It can involve huge amounts of betting on some of the days; although it depends on what money the players have in their purse.

The differences between mangatha and volleyball are obvious. Mangatha is a less physical game wherein chance decides the outcome. By contrast, volleyball is physical and the outcome depends both on the individual and collective efforts of the players. This collective enterprise demonstrated in volleyball is missing in non-dalit youth. They often speak of a lack of unity, which is partially attributable to belonging to different castes; but even within a caste there is no unity. Mangatha reflects their isolation as individuals who take a chance with life on their own.

Masculinity and Violence Against Women

a) Non-dalit men and violence against women

There are two important aspects of changing norms of masculinity among non-dalit men that have direct bearings on reporting of violence against women. One is the linkage between the loss of status of non-dalit men in the public sphere and the continuity and severity of domestic violence. The second is their inability to be the providers and their powerlessness to 'protect' their women from being subjected to sexual harassments of the dalit youth. The latter aspect seems to have a direct impact on the upper caste men's increased control over the mobility of women especially, in forbidding women going to work.

The non-dalit men who talked about their loss of power and authority in the public sphere are the ones who reported that they continue to abuse and beat their wives and daughters and also expressed their desire to control women. Nearly 97 percent of non-dalit men have identified "no sexual satisfaction" as a conflict area and as a reason to use force with their wives. In other words, the elderly upper caste men, unable to contend with their emasculated masculine power in the public sphere, continue to exercise violence within the domestic sphere to compensate for their `lost manhood' and also as reassertion of their masculine power within the families. Despite their loss of power in the public sphere and more specifically their inability to unleash violence over the lower caste (dalits), upper caste men continue to exercise violence in the private sphere. As explained by a 65-year-old Mudaliar man:

> *In my youth my wife used to be scared of me. I will give her a severe beating. My father used to beat all his daughters-in-law heavily. We never interfered because he would beat us also if we did. Then we also would beat up our wives…. People used to be terrified of Mudaliars. Now everybody has run away. My wife still fears me. I do shout at her and at times I beat her up. But I don't quarrel with anyone outside.*

Even Mudaliar women report that violence continues unabated. According to a 78-year-old Mudaliar woman, her 85-year-old husband still beats her:

> *I gave birth to ten children and none of my sons help me… My husband is a bad person. He has*

no consideration for age. Even now he tries to beat me. I would only shout at him, saying what do you think of yourself even after 50 years of married life? What do you want now? He would not go for any work and would simply eat and sleep. How could we survive? He sold off all the lands that my mother gave me.

The following narration of a 42-year-old Mudaliar woman illustrates how the upper caste men compensate for their undermined masculinity in the public sphere by continuing violence against women in the family:

... Often he [my father-in-law] used to hit her [my mother-in-law] without any reason. The food should be kept ready and hot when he returned from the field. He is more violent in front of his sons and other family members just to show how powerful he is. Even now he continues to exercise his authority by controlling me and other women in the family. He would shout at me and scold me if he sees me talking to someone outside the family.

As we noted earlier, the notion of honor and dignity prevents non-dalits taking up employment outside the village. Simultaneously, women's employment has directly challenged their male identity as the main income earner of the family. The response of the non-dalit elders succinctly captures their anxiety and tension resulting from women's employment. Non-dalit men are anxious about not being able to fulfill the masculine role of being a provider and protector. Their latter role is threatened by dalit youth who sexually harass their women and by women themselves who are now opting for inter-caste and love marriages. Their anxiety about women's sexuality is quite well captured by a middle-aged Naicker who claimed,

If they [women] go to work only the family of the girl will be affected. If a boy elopes with her, people around will only talk ill of the girl's family. They would say that he [the father or brother] has no control or wherewithal to stop the girl who has run away. Onlookers will have a different perspective. Even if they [the eloped couple] belong to the same caste, they would speak ill of us. If it [eloping] happens with a boy and a girl of different castes people here would talk very badly.

And as an elder Mudaliar man said, *"Did we survive by sending women to work? They used to live timidly. These days they elope and marry. Now in parachery [the dalit colony] everything happens. We have to keep women in control"*.

The anxiety seems to be true for all communities, including the vettai naicker or 'tribal' community. All the vettai naicker respondents have said that they are against women taking up employment. For example, one man said, *"None of us send women to work. It causes extreme worry. So I won't send."* Similarly, a 70-year-old man vettai naicker man said, *"Women go to work [in companies] because these eunuchs send them to work. Why do they do that? It is very wrong to send women to work in the companies."* His invocation of eunuchs is important as it labels men who allow or encourage women to work as non-men.

b) Dalit masculinity and violence against women

For non-dalit men, violence against women is closely linked to their newfound powerlessness. For them, violence against women takes place in the private sphere, where they are still relatively powerful against their wives and female family members. However, for dalit men, who are gaining new power in the public sphere, violence against women is increasingly practiced in the public sphere. This change is demonstrated most powerfully by the dalit youth's harassment of upper caste girls in public on their way to work, but it also seen in the youth's control over their mothers and sisters. As one upper caste working girl described,

…They [dalit boys] would do anything. Once my sister went to work in the morning by van. The van was crowded and when she wanted to get in, she asked a boy to go inside the van. Instead of giving way to her, the boy abused her in filthy, foul language and then pulled her half saree. Despite my sister resisting his physical assault, no-

body in the van protested or tried to help her….By the way, he is just a student studying +2 in Tirupporur school and much younger than my sister… In fact, my parents and few others in the caste were not for confrontation as they are afraid of colony men.

Dalit youth are also exercising significant control over dalit women within their families. While most dalits are overtly not opposed to women going to work, women's employment has considerably eroded the provider role of dalit men and therefore it is creating new tensions over control of resources and women's sexuality. Dalit men are disturbed by the increasing assertion of dalit women in both the public and domestic spheres. Responses for their notions regarding women's work indicate this phenomenon. Nearly 48 percent of dalit men agreed that women could go outside only to work. However, their anxiety about their women is reflected in their reasons for not wanting women to work. Percentage of dalit men who have agreed that when women go to work they (i) become unruly; (ii) marry on their own; (iii) go astray; (iv) become immoral is much higher as compared to the agreement levels among non-dalit men. Similarly, 83 percent of dalit men agreed that women must obtain men's permission prior to important decisions (the corresponding agreement level for non-dalits is 67 percent).

Dalit men are unwilling to share domestic labor. Nearly 89 percent of dalit men agree that household chores are the exclusive responsibilities of a wife. Providing for all their sexual needs as an exclusive responsibility yielded an agreement level of 94 percent among dalit men. Nearly 85 percent of dalit men think that childcare is the exclusive responsibility of a wife. They also claim a share in the earnings of women. Dalit youth's new masculine practices include costly attires and other forms of consumption. However, unlike their erstwhile landlords, they lack the material resources to retain masculine power. Instead, they depend on the family resources often earned by their sisters. For instance, an 18-year-old dalit working girl stated, "On Sundays, we always have to wash their [brothers] clothes and they would not let us watch the TV. Besides, they take away our money and if we refuse they would complain to our parents who would ultimately support our brothers." At the same time, they are worried about their sister's sexuality and therefore keep a constant surveillance of them. The following narration of a 22-year-old dalit working girl illustrates how the dalit youth control their sisters:

…They [our brothers] always watch our movements and constantly monitor us, whether it is inside the bus or outside. Anywhere and everywhere they keep an eye on us. They follow us even if we go to temple. We are not allowed to talk to other men without their permission and the boys share information among themselves about whose sisters are going where. If we violate their orders they would threaten us with dire consequences; even if they were younger than us they would immediately report us to our elder brothers who would punish us. If you happen to stand near the bus stop you would often hear this remark: 'If you cannot keep your sister under control what kind of a man are you?'

As we noted elsewhere, it is the dalit youth who define the roles and responsibilities for everyone in the family. Since their new public dominance has to contest and erase the history of dalit subordination to the upper castes, they do not permit their elderly women to work in the fields of Mudaliars /upper caste men. Commenting how powerful the dalit youth are, an elderly dalit woman of 65 years remarked,

It is Kaliyuga [age of destruction] …the younger generation forcefully prevents us from working for upper castes but they do not provide us food. Can you believe that they beat their parents, wives and sisters indiscriminately? Instead of finding a job they take away the money that our young girls earn. They abuse everyone at home in filthy language despite their higher education. It is their time and it is their rule. We are subjected their control.

Similarly, the middle-aged dalit women talk of how the dalit men—mainly youth—are always suspicious of their family women and therefore indulge in violence. A 45-year-old dalit woman said,

> *Our son does not listen to us. At home and outside it is their [dalit youth] rule. If you ask 'why don't you take up a job?' he would shout and scream and threaten to commit suicide. He and his father do not like my dressing up well. They would immediately ask me whether all my dressing up is to sleep with another man. My son often tries to beat me. All he does throughout the day is roam around the streets and monitor my activities; he doesn't care where the money and food comes from.*

Both dalit and non-dalit men report higher levels of violence in their domestic sphere. Nearly 83 percent of non-dalit men and 69 percent of dalit men had difficulties or problems with their wives during the past year. Nearly 25 percent of dalit men and 13 percent of non-dalit men had serious fights with their wives. The incidence of restrictions, sanctions and surveillance of their wives is much higher among non-dalits (12 percent) as compared to the dalits (two percent). Nearly 32 percent of non-dalit men have expressed displeasure at their wives coming and going whereas only four percent of dalit men have said that they have done so during the past one year.

The incidence of emotional violence is also widely prevalent; only the mode of such violence varies. Nearly 76 percent of non-dalit men and 53 percent of dalit men have done something to instill fear in their wives by their looks, gestures and actions. Both groups of men have shouted and abused their wives, though the incidence is higher among dalits.

Similarly, men from both the social groups have resorted to physical violence in the domestic sphere. Nearly 43 percent of non-dalit men have slapped their wives and 45 percent of dalit men have hit their wives. They have also kicked, beaten, pushed and pulled their wives. Sexual violence does not seem to be as pervasive as emotional and physical violence. But it does occur and more so among the non-dalits.

Dalit and non-dalit men cite significant differences in the reasons for violence. As noted earlier, nearly 97 percent of non-dalit men identified "no sexual satisfaction" as a conflict area and reason to use force with their wives, while only 40 percent of dalit men did so. Similarly, nearly 94 percent of non-dalits agreed that it is okay to use force against your wife if she is disrespectful to elders, whereas only 75 percent of dalit men did so. However, there were some reasons for force that were more commonly held across the two groups. For example, 97 percent non-dalit men and 84 percent of dalit men agreed that infidelity was a legitimate reason to use force against their wives.

Conclusions

What we have attempted to do so far is to map the meanings of masculinity in a changed socio-economic context and its implications for violence against women. We have documented how the dominant masculinity of the dalit youth has emasculated the non-dalit upper caste men in the public sphere. The non-dalit men perceive their powerlessness vis-a-vis the dalit men in terms of their inability to be the provider as well as the protector of their women—the two qualities considered essential for male identity and male power. As compensation to their loss of power in the public sphere, upper caste men reassert their dominance in the domestic sphere through the use of violence against women. In the case of dalit youth, violence against women, both in the public and private spheres, is used as a means to define and assert their dominant masculinity. However, in contrast to upper caste men of the past, contemporary dalit youth lacking a regular agricultural work/employment, are unable to consummate their identity as the providers (a role that has traditionally been perceived as an essential character of masculinity). However, they have asserted their domination over women in the family by reaffirming their role as protectors.

Nonetheless, this dominant masculinity of dalit youth still remains incomplete for the following reasons: First, dalit men do not have complete control over women and their sexuality. As industrial workers, women's bodies are also regulated by other forms of masculinities, which subordinate dalit masculinity. Secondly, the dalit women have assumed the role of providers and thus are able to contest the new dalit masculinity, unlike earlier generations of dalit women. Finally, dalit youth lack resources to consistently execute their power. This is a particularly important contrast to the upper castes of earlier times who had complete control over agricultural resources, which were used in turn to exercise control over women and men of lower castes, as well as women of their own caste. The use of violence by dalit youth appears to be a coping mechanism to make up for a lack of material resources, as well as a method to gain material resources.

Gender Violence and Construction of Masculinities: An Exploratory Study in Punjab

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Introduction

Gender violence has been conceptualized as a layered phenomenon that includes structural conditions of the gender hierarchies that result in negating or reducing[1] life chances, such as denial of birth to the female fetus or cultural neglect of the girl child; perception of harm or injury in the acting out of gender inequalities (threat of rape, imposing of codes of conduct) and acts of gender abuse such wife beating, honor revenge etc. (Gultang 1975:114). Thus unfolding of gender power structures may be authoritarian and brutal, as in wife-beating and public lynching of eloped couples; or coercive, as in use of threats or insidious through imposition of social controls that deny or restrict female mobility. Moreover, if religion, kinship, caste, and state appropriate gender hierarchies are to perform their pivotal roles, both prevalent and emerging practices of gender differentials become institutionalized. This process in turn reduces the individual autonomy to transcend the given.

As gender violence is not actor-based, even though there may be an identified victim and perpetrator, it is the norms, values and practices that need to be dismantled. These, however have different connotations for both men and women. Therefore, it becomes imperative to explore not only how women experience and perceive violence, but also the experience and perception of men. A closer look at male identity, or masculinity, would help to understand in more depth what norms and behaviors are critical for men. If they are not perceived as upholding these norms, what is the stigma attached to being "unmanly"? Further it would also enable an exploration of the linkages between violence (whether individual or social) and masculinity. Is violence purely instrumental for men to uphold their perceived roles and responsibilities, is it a strategy to overcome shortcomings in realizing the ideal, or is it an engrained element of masculine identity?

There is increasing recognition that the formation of not only female identity but also the male identity is located in the structure of gender relations. According to Schwalbe (1992), the structure of gendered power limits men's capacity to take the position of the other – for instance to engage in the ethics of care. In particular, the construction of masculinities has been intrinsically linked with the phenomenon's identifying, defining, explaining and legitimizing violence (Morgan 1987).[2] However, it is not gender structures alone that shape masculinity. It is dialectically influenced by socio-cultural ethos and economic and political processes.

Peasant societies, as in Punjab, are highly patriarchal and have a strong male child preference. In these societies, patriarchy dictates its ascendancy in all spheres of socio-economic and political life. Power structures emanating from land control percolate to

[1] There may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances.

[2] According to Morgan, "given the sexual division of labour and the particular position of men in relation to activities to do with the state and warfare, men may play a crucial role in defining the parameters within which violence is defined and understood."

all social activity.[3] Land, being central to social existence, has value as power in addition to its economic worth. A male child as the inheritor of this resource is valued, and like land a symbol of status. With the advent of Green Revolution in the mid-sixties, the value of land increased and so did the symbolic status of the male child. This male child preference is reflected in the masculine sex ratios of peasant communities.[4]

Historically, this region has also been prone to external invasions. Males were needed to fight wars and protect their lands and women. Women thus had to produce male children to ward off real or perceived threats of invasions. Values of martyrdom, heroism, and shedding blood for one's land and women gained importance. This martial concept was harnessed by the British to create a "martial race"; these norms were subsequently institutionalised (Fox 1987:145). Moreover, the protection of group purity necessitates control over women's bodies. Control over women's reproduction and sexuality assumes significance in the context of purity of identity, whether group or family lineage (Papanet 1994:46).[5] A more recent impact of purity of identity can be drawn from the decade of religious extremist assertions in the 1980s.[6]

The martial culture in Punjab eulogised heroism and martyrdom (Fox 1994:144). In such a social context where notions of violence and welfare abet and legitimize the construction of violent masculinities, the impact of militancy on gender violence could be profound.

The institutionalization of elements of masculinity in the context of specific nature of socio-economic processes, identity assertions and social hierarchies in Punjab have to be captured to understand the linkages of masculinity with gender violence. Given this context, the research objectives were formulated as follows:

1. Explore masculinity and its variations across religion and caste.
2. Assess the forms of male violence within the domestic sphere.
3. Understand the link between domestic violence and masculinity.
4. Analyze the process of construction of masculinities in 'martial' societies and its relationship with male violence within the domestic sphere.
5. Capture the process of identity assertions that provide impetus to the construction of masculinity.

Methodology

The study was exploratory in nature and aimed at capturing the construction of masculinities and its linkages with gender violence, with special reference to identity assertions. The study in terms of violent acts is operationalized in the domestic context, within social relations of the family, specifically violence against the wife. The definition of gender violence is drawn from that given by Lori Heise:

> *Any act of verbal or physical force, coercion, or life-threatening deprivation, directed at an individual woman or girl,that causes physical or psychological harm, humiliation or arbitrary deprivation of liberty and that perpetuates female subordination. (Heise, et al. 1994)*

[3] Rather than being a source of income only, agriculture in peasant societies encompasses a way of life. Culture for instance has dominantly evolved around agricultural landmarks. Festivals are linked to seasons of harvest, sowing or reaping of crops etc. Bhangra steps originate in motions of harvesting and tending to crops. The festival of Teej in which married women spend a month in their natal homes was a precaution to prevent conception of pregnancy since delivery would have been at prime harvest time – a time that could ill afford displacement of labor.

[4] For instance, in Punjab, the Jat community (non- SC Sikh) constitutes the peasants, and they have historically had a sex ratio below that of the state as a whole.

Available figures from 1901 to 1931 show that the Jat sex ratio is not only lower than the state average, but also the lowest among other communities in the area.

Census of India, 1931, Vol.-I, India, Part II Imperial Tables

[5] The definition of 'purity' is constructed as dependent on female sexuality and reproduction so that these aspects of women's lives become central not only to the definition of female personhood but also to group boundaries and group identity.

[6] A total of 38 dictates were issued by fundamentalist Sikh groups in Punjab which covered aspects of religious, socio-cultural and political spheres. Of these, eight pertained directly to women's conduct.

The study classifies 'violence' into descriptive categories of psychological violence and physical violence, which are inclusive of sexual violence. Psychological violence has been operationalized as acts that result in perception of harm or injury to the wife such as instilling fear through looks, gestures or actions, destruction of belongings, insult or humiliation etc., including sexual acts like sex with the wife when she is not willing. Physical violence pertains to acts of violence where physical force is exercised like slapping, pushing, burning, or beating. This also includes sex related acts such as physically forcing the wife to have sex. Restrictions and sanctions over wife are classified under control.

Methods and Sample Size

The study was undertaken in two districts of Punjab (Bathinda and Amritsar) and included both rural and semi-urban areas in each district. Both focus group discussions (FGDs) and narratives were used in the qualitative phase of work. As exploring masculinity along religion and caste was an important objective of the study, the study population was divided into three strata: Schedules Castes, Non Scheduled Caste Hindus, and Non Scheduled Caste Sikhs. In total, 24 FGDs were held and 61 narratives were collected. The qualitative data was collected from both men and women. Quantitative data was collected only from married men. The sample of 250 men was drawn from across the two districts and the three strata.

Exploring Dimensions of Masculinity in Punjab

Socially structured collective manly traits

Men across different social placements reflected adherence to collective manly traits, clearly depicting a prescriptive masculinity ideology [7]. The majority of men across caste, class and region were found in agreement that a male could be identified in terms of gender-ordained responsibilities and conduct.

However, there was variation in accordance with social placement (i.e. religion, caste, age) even among characteristics that were widely agreed to.[8] For example, with respect to conduct the variation is from 85 percent to 98 percent. In terms of other characteristics, there are also important variations to note. For instance, Sikh men reported physical strength (74 percent), style of walking (82 percent) and clothes (74 percent) to be the most reflective as a manly trait (refer to table 2 in annexure II). These notions of masculinity emanate from the social placements of the peasantry to whom physical work, rich diet, body and physical sports are related to the nature of work. It is not only the livelihood that results in a tall, strong and muscular Sikh, but this notion also represents social status whereby raw physical power over others symbolises dominance in the social hierarchy.

Sample Design for Quantitative Data

	Districts						Total		
	Bathinda			Amritsar					
Caste / religion	Rural	Semi-urban	Total	Rural	Semi-urban	Total	Rural	Semi-urban	Total
SCs	18	24	42	20	17	37	38	41	79
Non SC Sikh	27	21	48	28	17	45	55	38	93
Non SC Hindu	15	24	39	7	32	39	22	56	78

[7] Prescriptive (or norm-based) masculinity ideology refers to male behaviour thought to embody male role norms of the culture, irrespective of the individual male respondents own behavior (Doss 1998).

[8] The elements of masculinity vary with the hierarchies of patriarchy. A young male is not assigned the masculine role of protecting women outside religious, caste, kinship or family spheres. In other words, the roles assigned in patriarchy vary in accordance to occupational, socio-cultural distinctions.

Masculine Notion of 'Mard' and 'Mardangi'

While manliness (mard) was associated with power, control, the exercise of legitimate violence, and a composite expression of family status and group influence, male sexual prowess (referred widely in the FGDs as mardangi) was expressed as an individual male trait.[9]

Sexual power and its visibility in procreation was found to be an integral component of 'manliness' (between 58 to 73 percent considered it their responsibility to have children).[10] Thus, while delinked from family or group status, the status of manliness as an individual male trait is a norm and institutionalized as also male power reflecting family or groups status. It is common to hear, 'Jats as a people are not afraid to die or kill for a cause, unlike the Scheduled Castes who are cowards and cannot even protect their women from sexual abuse.' Violence against women to avenge or maintain 'mardangi' is patterned around control over female sexuality and reproduction. It included bodily access, aggressive sex and honor revenge. For instance, during the period of militancy, terrorism and drugs were perceived to be a menace to 'mardangi'—the fear of the gun forced people to hide militants in beds as the husbands of their daughters and sisters—'mardangi could not do anything then.' Unemployment and subsequent increase in the use of drugs was stated to be undermining manliness – men feel that if they cannot satisfy their wives, then their wives will have illicit relations.

Table 1: Caste-religion wise agreement on essential characteristics of men

Characteristics	SC	Non SC Hindu	Non SC Sikh
	N=79	N= 78	N=93
Appearance	49	54	78
	(62.0)	(69.0)	(84.0)
Conduct-behavior	67	75	91
	(84.0)	(96.0)	(98.0)
Responsibility-role	75	69	84
	(95.0)	(88.0)	(90.0)
Privileges	41	51	70
	(52.0)	(65.0)	(75.0)
Sexuality	52	55	70
	(66.0)	(71.0)	(75.0)

Source: Field Survey, IDC, 2001
Data in parenthesis indicates percentages.

Masculinity: Domestic and Public Face

Within the domestic domain, masculinity was found to be control-oriented whereas in the public sphere, masculinity was more influence-oriented. In the public sphere, men who had status and could exert influence over other men in the community were described as powerful. Social status as a manly attribute had the maximum agreement (67 percent in non-SC Sikhs); in contrast, 49 percent considered controlling wife as being manly. In fact, domestic masculinity was expected to support public masculinity. Thus, for instance, a powerful man must have an obedient wife and a household that caters to his needs. A husband's public demands have to be met, while he may be more lenient in private. For example, the demands of a sarpanch to serve tea and food to his guests were constantly and quietly met by a sick wife. Later the man acceded to his wife's wish to visit her natal home. Yet, if the wife questions the husband or disobeys him in front of outsiders, the husband has a legitimate right to beat her. Within the domestic domain, protection rather than aggression (around 85 percent in all groups) was espoused as a manly characteristic, though aggressive masculinity in the context of the family was justified in context to sexual infidelity and insubordination.

It must be noted that while the exercise of control is generally limited to the domestic sphere in times of peace, during militancy or identity conflict, control over women may be exercised in the public sphere also, leading to more acts of violence against women (Kumar and Dagar 1995).[11]

[9] Mard referred to the collective male identity of patriarchy, the embodiment of power. Mard is one who has status, land, purchasing power influence, a leader, a strong physique, control over others—traits varying with values held in esteem in accordance to social placements. So for Hindu-earning an income was necessary to be considered manly, while for a Jat peasant, the ability to protect his family was a predominant manly attribute.

[10] Panchayat intervening to sort out marital discord in a new marriage, supported the husband's right to beat his wife and to walk out of the marriage if an assertion of impotency was made.' Field Survey, 2001

Emerging Links Between Masculinity and Violence in Punjab

Culture of violence

Visible symbols of power and violence were endorsed in both the FGDs and individual narratives as manly, with the gun and the police uniform considered as representative of male power. These symbols not only reflected manliness but were also found to be associated with the social status and power of the family. In Punjab, it is common to find sitting rooms decorated with guns and kirpans. Guns as a symbol of power proclaim social dominance of the family. According to a 28-year-old non-SC Sikh woman of the upper strata, "guns let visitors know that they have come to the home of people with a standing and not to just a non-entity's house." Police officers were found to be role models for men and in demand as bridegrooms. They were found to be models in physical appearance, conduct and control. Young men's common description of a masculine ideal was of being tall and strong like a policeman, having the personality of a police officer, etc. There were instances of young girls wanting to marry policemen because they were seen to be manly. During the militant period, young women found it romantic to run away with militants or to marry them (UNICEF 2001).

Power was also discussed in the context of providing protection. As a gender role responsibility, agreement on protection as a manly trait was high – around 85 percent in all groups and ranked second as the role responsibility agreed by men (see table below).

The dominant group, i.e. non-SC Hindus and non-SC Sikhs, reported that an important aspect of being manly was protecting the weak (75.6 and 73.1 percent).

Both non-SC Hindu and Sikh justified violence in certain contexts. In particular, it was condoned in self-defense, with about 70 percent agreement (refer table 4 in annexure II). Further, for these dominant groups, violent masculinity was found to be critical to maintaining a group identity. Thus, for instance, the Jat community in Punjab condoned violence, and in particular sanctioned killing for land and woman. *"A man has to fight for his land, woman and water"* was the common refrain among the non-SC Sikh community. *"District Courts are a place of Jat melas"* perhaps best portrays the stamp of approval for inviting legal repercussions for acts of violence. It is well understood that violent acts by members of the peasantry pertain to issues involving property and lineage– till recently a Jat's manliness was established by the number of murder cases he faced. This was in stark contrast to the trading community. Among the non-SC Sikhs even social status was linked to "others being afraid of you" since this entailed control and influence, disallowing transgression on personal property including women.

Another facet of violence was the rejection of subordination. Non-SC Sikh men (87.1 percent) justified the use of violence in order not to let others dominate (refer to table 4 in annexure II). Another defining character of masculinity in terms of violence was the concept of revenge. In fact, failure to uphold one's honor is looked down upon.[12]

Identity assertions: active construction

The dominance of the peasantry, in particular the Jat Sikhs, for the construction of masculinities is pronounced in Punjab. However, with increasing economic growth and subsequent increases in income

Table 2. Caste-religion wise opinion regarding protection as a responsibility/roles of men outside their family

Responsibilities/ Roles	SC	Non SC Hindu	Non SC Sikh
	N=79	N= 78	N=93
Protecting the family	66 (84.0)	67 (86.0)	79 (85.0)
To have children	58 (73.0)	49 (63.0)	54 (58.0)
Protecting weak outside their family	81 (52.0)	59 (76.0)	68 (73.0)

Source: Field Survey, IDC, 2001
Data in parenthesis indicates percentages.

[11] For instance, during militancy the impact of codes of conduct restricting women's behavior was mentioned to be restricted mobility (74 percent) and a ban on girls to dance in public (85 percent).

for some SCs , there is a process of SCs upholding norms and practices of the dominant groups. Among the SCs, manliness has been described as being tall and well-built, being mistaken for a Jat male or a Jat policeman. Further, upwardly mobile SCs are placing greater emphasis on a diet of milk, milk products and produce of one's own field.[13] In other spheres also, Jat standards and symbols are being appropriated by the SCs. For instance, honor revenge and levirate marriages are exclusive to peasant groups, where both land and women are to be protected and reflect the social status of the families; yet instances of these practices are found in the SCs (Kapur 2000). In terms of dress also, the SCs are wearing the Jat apparel.[14] SC men, while visiting in-laws, wear a turban like the Jat so that he looks a man of influence. Appropriation of the norms of the Jats by the SCs does not bode well for gender violence. Demarcations between male and female behavior are rigid in the peasantry—there is high male child preference, and practices such as dowry exchange, levirate marriage and honor revenge are legitimate forms of differentiating gender structures.

While on the one hand, the SCs are emulating these patriarchal norms, at another level they are escaping "pollution." Exclusiveness of identity is emerging from political consciousness and as in all identity assertions based on the concept of purity and pollution, women are the direct targets. Data clearly show that SC men perceive it manly to control their women including those of the community.

Militancy: identity assertions impinged on manly traits

The public sphere was found to be an arena of competitive masculinity during militancy. During militancy, the manliness of the dominant groups was challenged by the assertion of men who were part of the militant movement. This occurred both at individual as well as collective level. Collectively, the martial Sikhs were under siege to protect their women. Instances of sexual abuse of hitherto protected women abounded.[15] Women were victims of not only the state apparatus but also of militants groups and the anti-social elements who were thrown up in the lawless society of that time (UNICEF 2001). This challenged the manliness of a society that prided itself in protecting its women and safeguarding family honor.

At the individual level, men were resentful of being dominated and thus unable to protect them from what they perceived as transgressions against their manhood. As mentioned previously, 80 percent of Non-SC Sikhs agreed that violence was justified for self-protection and in asserting oneself against dominance. Men who prided themselves in their physical strength and social influence found their standing challenged by young men who drew power from militant affiliations. In particular, men were against the imposition of codes of social conduct on Sikh men.[16]

Violence in the Domestic Sphere

Violence within the home was found to be a norm rather than an aberration if incidence of physical and psychological violence is an indicator. While physical violence was least acknowledged, psychological violence was reported in nearly every home.[17]

Within the caste groups, the least physical violence was reported among non-SC Hindu homes (22 percent), versus non-SC Sikh group (28 percent) and SC respondents (70 percent.)

In terms of psychological violence, the SC men reported a phenomenally higher use of such violence, with 94 percent having resorted to one act or another. Among the non-SC Hindu men (78.2 percent), the perception of use of repressive physical control was substantially lower vis-à-vis other groups. Yet a large

[12] 'A common taunt to the SC men is that they are not men enough to avenge the dishonor of their women. Field Survey, 2001

[13] 'In these SC households it was common to hear 'We live well—we get four kgs of milk a day', 'the saag is well made in our home, the school teacher also comes and takes food here just as he does in landlord homes'. The issue of rich diet does not even get consideration in Jat homes since it is an accepted way of life but constant reference to food habits was made in SC homes.' Field Survey, 2001

[14] 'White 'kurta-pajama' worn by Jat land owners is replacing the dark colours of the SCs.' Field Survey, 2001

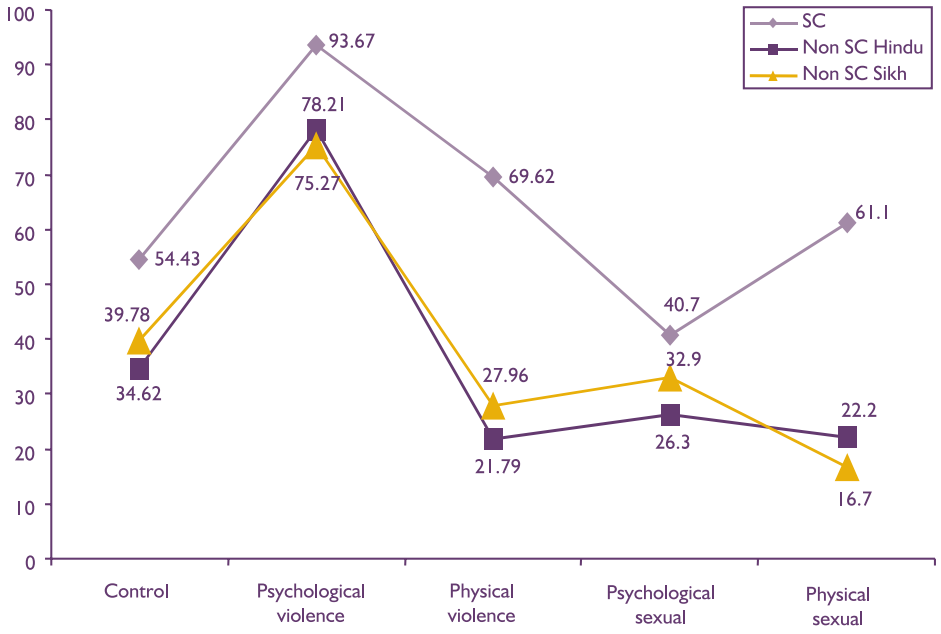
[15] 'During terrorism, the Jats rather than the SCs were troubled in the context of protecting their women.' Jat families whose women were not easy sexual targets became victims of sexual exploitation during terrorism.' Field Survey, 2001.

majority (SC – 96 percent, non-SC Sikh 85 percent, non-SC Hindu – 82 percent) responded that they exercised control over their wives, lending credence to the assertion that normative control was exercised over wives rather than direct physical action.

Normative authority of the male is writ large on women and can be inferred from the finding that there is no substantial difference between the behavior of violent and non-violent men in all three social groups. While comparing variables pertaining to control and power, there was no discernible distinction in the behavior of violent and non-violent men in all three groups with respect to physical and psychological violence. For instance, Sikh men who had not been physically violent reported higher (67 percent) decision-making within the home, in comparison with 62 percent of the violent Sikh men. While a marginally higher control was exhibited on family members and women of the family by the physically violent Sikh men (78 and 73 percent respectively) control over wives was similar among both violent and non-violent groups. Physically violent SC men were negligibly higher in their non-tolerance of disobedience by family members, women and wives. This same trend was not found among violent and non-violent non-SC Sikh men.

Among the non-SC Hindus, the non-violent Hindus reported exercising greater control over their wives even though they were found to exhibit fewer of those particular acts. In other words, male perceptions vis-à-vis their behavior in terms of exercise of power and control was found to be no different among men who acknowledged having acted in a psychologically or physically violent manner or exercised particular acts of control on their wives.

Graph 1. Caste-religion wise control and violence acknowledged as inflicted on wives



Source: Field Survey, IDC, 2001.

[16] 'Men were expected not to trim their beards, to wear turbans of a particular colour and refrain from drinking and meat-eating. Men also mentioned that the supporters were themselves targeted rather than allowed to enjoy any privileges. Impinging on the masculine authority system both in terms of 'male role norms' and 'masculinity ideology' was a factor in the loss of popular support to the movement.'
Field Survey, 2001

[17] For descriptions of these categories, refer to methodology, physical sexual violence pertains to use of force during sex, while psychological sexual violence refers to use of threat, fear or overriding wives concerns such as use of condoms in context to sex.

Conclusion

Violent masculinities

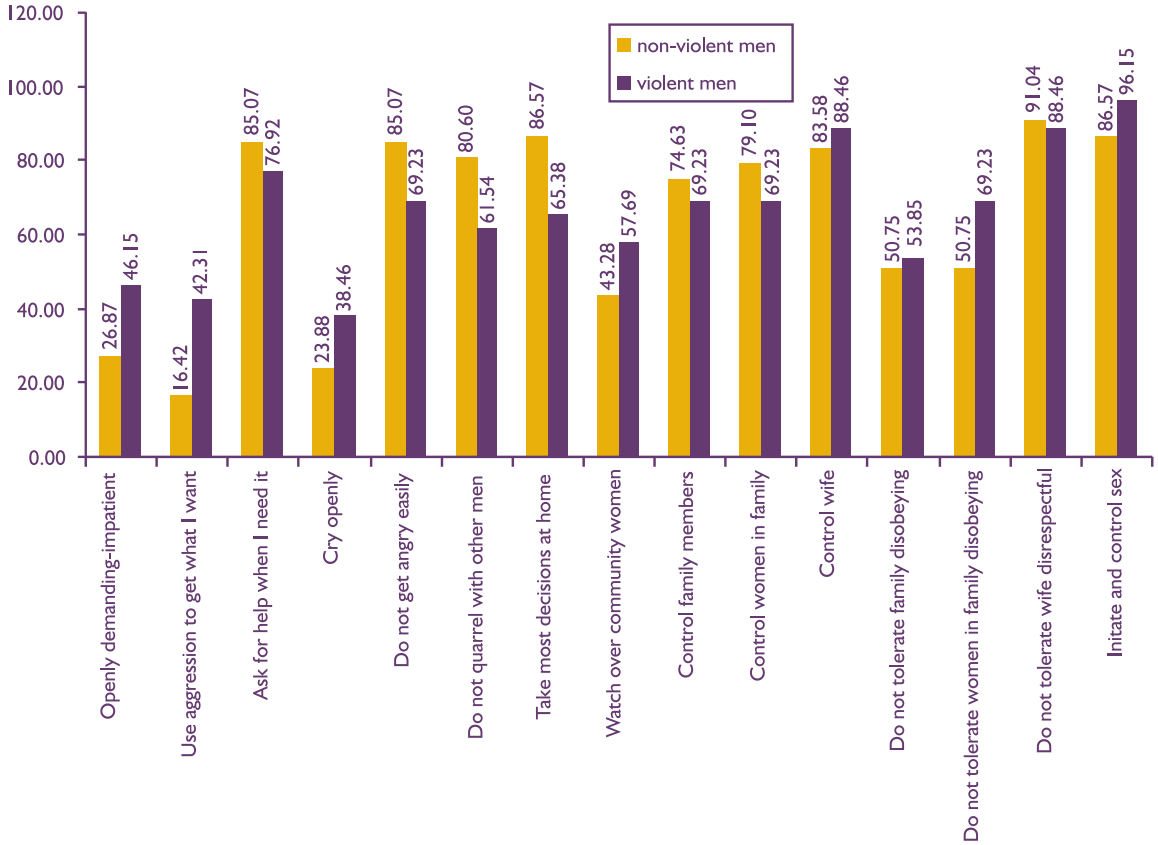
Data indicate that perceived behavior patterns of violent and non-violent men in all three caste-religious groups did not vary in terms of deployment of power and control.

If force and coercion are the more invisible modes of the exercise of power, and physical violence a more repressive and extreme form, it does raise the question of which men are more violent towards women. In fact, can one even make such a generalization? To illustrate, the dominant groups did reflect higher agreement to power in control indices such as notions of other men's actions, others being afraid, having financial resources, maintaining order in the community. Similarly, they endorsed individual behavior of taking most of the decisions in the home, yet inflicted a lower degree of physical or psychological violence against their wives. On the contrary, SC men who did not abide by the notion of control over other men as a manly attribute practiced greater violence against their women. Thus, certain groups of men who exercise social power may exercise control over their women yet not be physically abusive to their wives. On the other hand, men who did not exercise power in society reflected greater violence in the domestic sphere.

Identity assertions

Violent behavior of men can be linked to the identity assertion of a group wherein control over their women's sexuality and reproduction is essential to maintain group exclusivity and to protect it from pollution. During militancy in Punjab, codes of conduct were enforced on women to segregate the Sikh and non-Sikh communities. While implementation of these codes has abated, the use of similar controls and checks on Scheduled Caste women seems to be emerging. Thus, violent masculinity does seem to

Graph 2. Behavior Pattern of Physically Violent and Non-Violent SC Men



erupt in Punjab, promoted by the culture of violence and explosion of identities in a highly patriarchal and martial society. During the militancy, restricted mobility and the norms of seclusion were employed against Sikh women. In an earlier study, 63.6 percent of non-SC Sikh men reported that girls from the respondents' families had to leave school. Another 75 percent mentioned girls' mobility was restricted or they were married off early, and their dress and conduct were checked in accordance with the codes of conduct prescribed by the militants (Kumar and Dagar, 1995). Yet in the present study, five years later, the control over women is higher among the SCs.

Backlash

At another level, physical violence by men was portrayed in what has been termed as relative deprivation, in particular what Ted Gurr (1970) has described as decremental deprivation[18]. Data from FGDs and narratives indicate that men who suffered reduction of their privileges in terms of lower status, lower earnings or education, especially vis-à-vis their wives, were found to be physically violent. Besides the acceptable justifications such as role performance, chastity, or lack of submission to her in-laws, a backlash of patriarchy was also found to be contributing to wife-beating. Also a difference in norms wherein the husband's family considers mobility restrictions and sedate dressing styles as reflective of family status but the wife transgresses these norms to state her 'empowered background' can result in increased control or psychological violence by the family. The underlying thrust is on adherence to the husband's directive, even if it impinges on individual rights.

Economic considerations have thrown established norms into disarray—women's financial independence challenges the husband's fiefdom at one level, yet has emerged as a factor for consideration at the time of marriage in the first place. This backlash was more pronounced in the context of challenge to male sexuality; where men perceived themselves to be physically inadequate as men – in terms of physical appearance and sexual performance — violence abounded.

Policy and Research Recommendations

1. Given the finding that identity assertions promote violent masculinities, in the global context of growing identity based movements, this has serious ramifications regarding violence against women. Thus, rather than limiting efforts to combat violent masculinities by focusing exclusively on a gender framework, addressing these issues in a larger context of socio-economic and political processes in a frame of conflict resolution needs to be explored.
2. To undermine violent masculinities in men and their social relations, historically institutionalized processes need to be dismantled and social structures addressed. Entitlement to male power and prestige are not restricted to men alone; institutions such as the family, kinship and local bodies (panchayats) also draw their identity from the same violent constructs.
3. Variation in attributes of masculinity, such as in masculinity ideology and male role norms; public arenas and domestic spheres; or male power and sexual prowess, indicate the potential for decoupling wherein structures that promote violent masculinities can be opposed by those that promote masculinities based on democratic and human rights ethos.

[18] Relative deprivation is a discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities. One of the distinct patterns of disequilibrium is decremental deprivation. Group consensus about justifiable value positions has varied little over time, but in which the average attainable value position or potential is perceived to decline substantially. Men in these circumstances are angered over the loss of what they once had or thought they could have; they experience RD by reference to their own past condition.

ANNEXURE II

Table 1: Caste-religion wise agreement on important components of physical appearance of men

Physical appearance of men	SC	Non SC Hindu	Non SC Sikh
	N = 79	N = 78	N = 93
Physique (body build, muscle tone, "steel" body etc.)	24 (30.0)	32 (41.0)	57 (61.0)
Physical strength	46 (58.0)	49 (63.0)	69 (74.0)
Facial hair / moustache	25 (32.0)	20 (26.0)	60 (65.0)
Style (walk, voice, talk, mannerisms, gestures and presentation)	41 (52.0)	51 (65.0)	76 (82.0)
What he wears (Cleanliness, type of attire, clothing) (Specify type of clothing, head dress)	29 (37.0)	47 (60.0)	69 (74.0)

Source: Field Survey, IDC, 2001

Data in parenthesis indicates percentages

Table 2: Caste-religion wise agreement on display of power in men

Display of power	SC	Non SC Hindu	Non SC Sikh
	N = 79	N = 78	N = 93
Social status	13 (16.0)	49 (63.0)	62 (67.0)
Having influence on other men's action	9 (11.0)	38 (49.0)	35 (38.0)
Having influence on women's action	13 (16.0)	18 (23.0)	17 (18.0)
Others being afraid of you	5 (6.0)	15 (19.0)	27 (29.0)
Having financial resources	18 (23.0)	43 (55.0)	50 (54.0)
Having non-financial resources	15 (19.0)	35 (45.0)	33 (35.0)
Maintaining order in the community	8 (10.0)	18 (23.0)	34 (37.0)
Maintaining order of the family	21 (27.0)	31 (40.0)	39 (42.0)
Any other		4 (5.0)	1 (1.0)

Source: Field Survey, IDC, 2001

Data in parenthesis indicates percentages.

Table 3: **Caste-religion wise agreement on display of control in men**

Display of control	SC	Non SC Hindu	Non SC Sikh
	N-79	**N=78**	N=93
Control over oneself	54 (68.0)	66 (85.0)	79 (85.0)
Being demanding	9 (11.0)	15 (19.0)	24 (26.0)
Not being dominated	31 (39.0)	58 (74.0)	73 (78.0)
Controlling people outside your family	13 (16.0)	24 (31.0)	27 (29.0)
Controlling other men	10 (13.0)	28 (36.0)	22 (24.0)
Controlling women	31 (39.0)	24 (31.0)	45 (48.0)
Controlling your wife	57 (72.0)	38 (49.0)	58 (62.0)
Any other		1 (1.0)	

Source: Field Survey, IDC, 2001

Data in parenthesis indicates percentages

Table 4: Caste-religion wise agreement on outcomes that justify use of violence

Outcomes that justify use of violence	SC	Non SC Hindu	Non SC Sikh
	N = 79	N = 78	N = 93
Maintaining discipline	33 (42.0)	34 (44.0)	54 (58.0)
Getting your share	38 (48.0)	41 (53.0)	62 (67.0)
Protecting yourself and what you consider yours, e.g. possessions and loved ones etc.	52 (66.0)	56 (72.0)	74 (80.0)
Adding to your resources (money, land) from someone else's	15 (19.0)	6 (8.0)	21 (23.0)
Competing for a women's love	8 (10.0)	8 (10.0)	13 (14.0)
Achieving dominance in a group or society	15 (19.0)	20 (26.0)	37 (40.0)
Preventing someone from dominating you	56 (71.0)	63 (81.0)	81 (87.0)
Making a person fearful of you	18 (23.0)	19 (24.0)	29 (31.0)
Controlling and dominating over someone	19 (24.0)	21 (27.0)	28 (30.0)
Any other	5 (6.0)	4 (5.0)	4 (4.0)

Source: Field Survey, IDC, 2001

Data in parenthesis indicates percentages

Masculinity and Violence in the Domestic Domain: An Exploratory Study Among the MSM Community

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Introduction

Internationally, there is a growing consensus that attention has to be paid to male sexuality, male socialization processes and masculinity broadly to understand how men can be effectively brought into the gender and development discourse. This has become critical as new issues ranging from men's involvement in women's reproductive health to a concern about spiralling male unemployment and the rising tide in gender-based violence are taking center stage. The theoretical and empirical explorations of gender and sexuality in the present social order have led to a sustained interest in prior constructions and definitions of masculinity. Masculinity has been defined as characteristic of man, manly, vigorous, having qualities considered approximate to man. This strict sex role theory treats masculinity precisely as a social norm for the behavior of men. Generally, masculinity is shaped in relation to an overall structure of power (the subordination of women to men), and in relations to a general symbolisation of difference (the opposition of femininity to masculinity). Feng (1996) defines masculinity in three ways: first, the positivist social science which defines masculinity as what men actually are; second, the normative definition, which says masculinity is what ought to be, third, the semiotic approach, which defines masculinity through a system of symbolic difference in which the masculine and the feminine are contrasted.

However, this understanding of masculinity is being redefined. Masculinity ideology differs in meaningful ways among different cultures and social groups (Leavant and Sandra 1999). It is central to the male gender role that refers to beliefs about the importance of men adhering to culturally defined standards for male behaviors (Pleck, 1995). Any deviation by men from these expected roles and behaviors becomes a deviation from the 'masculine' itself. This deviation from the masculine makes him vulnerable violence and more prone to be violent. It is in this context that an understanding of the linkages between masculinity, sexuality and violence becomes important.

Thus masculinity is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage in that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experiences, personality and culture.

The multiplicity of masculinity as explained by Connell (1987) provides the main basis for relationships among men that define a hegemonic form of masculinity in the society. The hegemonic masculinity is constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women. This understanding of masculinity as a power relation produced by patriarchal structures and the social order, which enhance gender inequality, helps us to capture the gender based violence prevalent in our society.

[*]With input from Arshad Alam and Jaya Tiwari.

Thus, the understanding of masculinity involves an analysis of important characteristics and roles such as protector, procreator, provider, penetrator, which are linked to the idea of power, control and authority.

In India, gender roles are strictly defined in terms of sexuality, social duties and obligations. Thus same sex behavior, though common, is considered to be a deviation from the 'normal' and 'natural' models of sexual behavior. Unlike Western societies, the pattern of male-to-male sex is not an exclusive practice of a few homosexual men, but is a part of general sexual practices of males. In India, sex with another male is not seen as a permanent feature, but rather as an additional, situational and opportunistic outlet (Khan 1998). This male-to-male sex exists in all age groups, martial statuses, educational backgrounds, classes, castes, linguistic and religious communities, sexualities and gender constructions. Yet there is constant denial as well as invisibility of men who have sex with men (MSM) out of public shame and family dishonor.

Apparently this male-to-male sex is practiced without any admission or recognition of identity. Identities are based on caste, class, and religious affiliation and not on sexual desires and preferences. Homosexuality is still perceived as a stigma, taboo, 'unnatural', 'abnormal' or deviation. As in the West, persons who have a homosexual orientation are sometimes referred to as gay (both men and women) or as lesbian (women only) by English speaking Indians. However, the term 'homosexual' does not have a direct equivalent in the regional languages. In northern India, the words used for MSM include *koti, chibbra dhuravni, giriya,* and *'naan-khattai'*. Derisive words like *gaandu* are also sometimes used. This word has a negative connotation for men as it refers to someone who gets penetrated and thus is not masculine.

Almost always self-defined, *koti* is a feminine construction of gender identity and etymologically this term is a product largely of the north Indian region. They are also referred to as *dhuravni, chhakkas, khanjra koti (*sex worker), *maugas or laundas.* The feminine identity of the *koti* is a reflection of both the effeminate demeanor of these men and the stereotypical feminine gender roles. There are no defined sexual roles among *koti*s and many *koti*s are both active and passive depending on circumstances, partner preference, opportunity and desire. But the only situation where *koti*s claim to exclusively assume a passive role is in their relationship with *giriya*s (husband/partner/ 'real men'). *Kotis* have their own language, which they call *Farsi,* that is used in their own circles.

Giriya is a term given by *kotis* to their partners and it is not used as self-identification marker. These giriya males are considered as masculine because they are non-feminine or macho in demeanor and always take the insertive or masculine/active role during penetrative sex. The social and behavioral roles assumed by the *giriya* are guided by the perception of a husband/ real man. This could involve the role of husband as decision-maker on behalf of the household (especially in a typical lower middle class Indian framework to which many of these *kotis and giriya* belong). *Giriya*s are often guardians, breadwinners who hand over their salaries to their *koti* partners.

A small section of MSM community does identify themselves as gay. These are men who have begun to articulate a political identity and assert their right of sexual orientation. However, there is a significant difference between gays who are English speaking (GAE) and Hindi speaking (GAH). One of the reasons for this division is that the GAH neither identify themselves with the *kotis* nor are fully comfortable with an assertive gay identity. The class difference of these subcategories is also a very important factor that contributes to the difference in perceptions and politics.

Most of the studies on MSM in India are restricted to exploring the sexual behavior and practices in the context of high-risk behaviors and are historical or mythological explorations of same sex behaviors. Currently, attempts have begun to place the question of sexuality from a human rights perspective. This, however, requires an understanding of issues beyond the domain of sexual practices and high-risk behaviors.

The challenging task this research project sets before itself is primarily based on the assumption that if effective responses are to be developed to address gender-based violence in the public and private sphere, then it is necessary to discard all assumptions, be they of men as perpetrator or even as victims. The use of force and violence is viewed as one of the instruments of power and as one of the modes of behavior by which hierarchy is perpetuated in the society. Consequently, the violence against MSM and women is implicated in the hegemonic masculinity. The basic interrelation in the context of violence is not between man–aggressor and woman–victim, or even vice versa, but the interrelation between gender, power and force and the subject positions various individuals may occupy in a given social situation which defines gender based privilege in a particular manner.

The underlying goal of the study is to understand how norms of gender behavior are operationalized in the daily context so as to identify possible areas of intervention that address both men and women. The core of this research is aimed at addressing the question of how masculinity that is violent towards men and women is constituted. This study examines men's own accounting of violence against their wife and partners and also the violence experienced by them. However, the present study does not aim to simplify masculinity to a unitary construct, simplify the connection between masculinity and violence, or support the assumption that men are naturally violent.

Research Questions

- How is masculinity constituted, denied, suppressed, highlighted in the domestic/public sphere?
- What are the forms/perceptions and effects of violence? (vis-à-vis masculinity)
- How is identity (sexual and gender) formed within the MSM community?

Methodology

The ecological model that examines the interrelation between factors that operate at the individual, familial, community and societal level guides the underlined conceptual framework of this study. Given the specialized nature of the study population this model has been reworked without altering the basic premise, which is sufficiently expansive to include both an understanding of patriarchal ideology as well as the importance of traditional psychological parameters that influence the formation of masculinity.

This study was conducted in the National Capital Territory of Delhi and focused on men who have sex with men (MSM). This location provides a sampling of migrant, mixed urban/rural groups. Though the focus of the study was on the MSM population, married heterosexual men were also included in the sample in order to diversify the data and to ensure mapping of violence against women.

This research is primarily exploratory in nature and includes a mix of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The study instruments employed for the qualitative phase included focus group discussions (FGD), in-depth interviews, and case studies. A structured questionnaire was used for the quantitative data collection. As the exploratory nature of research may lead to some sort of intrusion in one's private life, especially in the areas like MSM issues, ethical guidelines were followed and strict confidentiality assured to the participants. An informed consent form was developed spelling out the basic research questions and purpose of the study. Written or verbal consent was obtained from the respondents before the beginning of the interviews.

The sample was divided into two main categories of MSM and heterosexual men. The MSM category was divided into three subcategories of *koti, giriya* and gay having thirty-eight samples from each category. The 38 samples in the gay category were further equally divided between gay English speaking and gay Hindi speaking. An equal sample of 38 heterosexual men was included. Thus the quantitative sample in total was 152. Further, out of 114 MSM, 40 were married. As all the straight men in the sample are married, the total married sample was 78. The qualitative data includeds twenty-four in-depth inter-

views: six each with *koti*, *giriya*, gay (Hindi speaking and English speaking) and heterosexual men and four FGDs (two each with the *koti and gay* community). The qualitative data also includes one case study of a *koti*.

Considering the uniqueness of the study population, purposive sampling was followed for this study. MSM respondents were recruited either through the support groups formed by NAZ in its work on HIV/AIDS or at selected sites known to be cruising areas. The heterosexual men were all recruited through personal networks. Some kind of bias in the sample population is unavoidable in purposive sampling. For example, the majority of the MSM respondents are not married, and therefore, the data on violence against wife may be less representative in nature.

Data Collection and Field Experience

Data collection from this target group was a challenging task. The identification of the MSM was itself a difficult task. Without the support of NAZ outreach workers this would have been a near impossibility. The data was collected at the cruising sites identified by NAZ in different parts of Delhi, and at the support group meetings for the MSM. The cruising sites are referred to as *dagore* by *kotis*. The cruising takes place mainly in and around public parks, bus stops and terminals, and public toilets. Some of the parks have large areas of jungle where the men have sex.

The outreach sites were full of uncertainties. There were times when the police stopped the interviews blaming us to be "promoting" homosexuality and we could also observe the police driving out the people cruising in a park. Similarly, there were incidences in which people from the study population disturbed the interview. There were days in which there would be no respondents or the same respondents whom we had earlier interviewed. The rapport-building process was very difficult with many respondents, and there was lots of anxiety regarding the outcome and implications of the interview. Their struggle to cope with the dual identity of being MSM and heterosexual simultaneously—a struggle to come in terms with their own sexual and social identities—constituted their main concern. Because of the nature of the target population and the questions asked, it was natural that respondents were curious about the interviewers. But they persisted and in the end they also realised that interviewing MSM was also a study in self-exploration for them. During our discussions we questioned a lot of assumptions that we had about men, women and masculinity.

Understanding Masculinities

In this section we will explore the notions and various connotations of masculinity and the question of how different categories of men relate themselves to their own notions of masculinity. The commonalities and variations in the notions and practices of masculinity have also been examined.

From the findings of this study, it can be said that there is no single, unified, overarching conception of masculinity. Some may suggest that MSM is an alternate masculinity, and the findings of this study suggest that MSM themselves have alternative masculinities simultaneously. Thus, notions of masculinity are so divergent that it is almost impossible to use the term in singular sense.

However there are some very basic notions commonly held. The essential difference between a man and women for most of the respondents is biological and physical. Accordingly, there is a high agreement to physical appearances as an essential characteristic of masculinity. However, in the further exploration of this essential characteristic, we have identified fluidity in notions regarding what constitutes a masculine physical appearance. Physique, physical strength, style and clothing are considered important for the physical appearance of men (above 83 percent). The masculine characteristics of men such as aggressive, loud and courageous are attributed to the physical strength of men. It has been rationalized as hormonal, and aggressiveness is considered to be a result of good physique and physical strength.

A second commonly held notion is that man is bold, courageous, and private compared to women who are submissive, sensitive and vulnerable. Conduct was

agreed to as an essential characteristic (more than 80 percent). While courage, boldness, independence, power and control were all agreed to as important markers of conduct (above 80 percent), dignity emerged as the most important characteristic of masculinity (91 percent). Of those men who agreed to dignity as an essential characteristic of conduct of men, 87 percent further agreed to maintaining privacy of the family and being emotionally strong. Interestingly, there was low agreement to ability to fight with other men as a marker of courage. It is interesting to note that the respondents who challenge the existing social norms in terms of their sexual practices and behaviors did not endorse breaking norms as displaying boldness in men (only 43 percent agreement level).

Control and power as expression of masculinity

Another important characteristic of masculinity which emerged was control. Eighty-four percent of respondents endorsed control as an important characteristic of masculinity, and among them, 97 percent agreed that control over self was important for men. It is implied in the discourse that men play a reality-grounded and less emotional role in a man-woman scenario. The concept of emotions therefore plays an important role in designating gender attributes. Man is constituted as a controlled entity invested with "feelings" that are curbed through sheer will power. There is an inherent tension in man that is lacking in his expressive 'emotional' female counterpart.

Similarly, not being controlled by others is also important for most men (85 percent). A real man controls everything in the household; including his wife and children. As observed by a *giriya,"man has to take complete control of the family. He should create a feeling in the minds of children that they should not go out and engage in wrong doings."* Masculinity, therefore, requires a man to exercise control over his family. Of those who endorse control, 71 percent endorse controlling wife and/or partners, while 67 percent endorse controlling women in the family or community as important characteristic of masculinity. This aspect of control is present in the *koti-giriya* relationship as well.

It is all the more important to note that masculinity is associated with power. Accordingly as one respondent remarked, "*asli mard wohi hai jiski aankhon se hi aurat dar jaye*" (a man who can frighten a woman with his looks alone is the real man). Similarly, the expression that "*how does it matter if a woman remains inside the home…I will do what I have to do outside home. Housewife is to remain inside the house. I will do whatever I want to do with her"* is a clear expression of what masculine power means for a man. Maintaining order in the family and community and influence over men's actions and decisions, the manifestations of leadership quality, are viewed as the expression of power in both public and private domains. Description of Indira Gandhi as masculine, therefore, is primarily due to the prevalent notions that leadership and exercise of power are the domain of masculine. Social and educational statuses are also considered as sources of power.

Roles and responsibilities and construction of masculinity

It has been observed in the qualitative data that the societal perception regarding masculinity is quite misleading since the society considers a man who cries, or a man who runs his own household or a man who gets up before his wife and makes tea for himself as unmasculine. That is primarily because these unmasculine acts do not confirm the societal norms regarding a man's roles and responsibilities. In India, different social, cultural, religious and class values mostly determine roles and responsibilities for men and women. The data show an explicit world-order expressed in terms of how gender is constructed pertaining to man-woman dichotomy. This dichotomy is constituted by two opposing and distinct categories with different roles and responsibilities. The gendered division of roles and responsibilities that starts from childhood itself justifies the division of spaces into public and private, with public being the domain of men alone. The division of roles and responsibilities define the private sphere as the exclusive domain of women. There is a high agreement (70 percent) to the division of household chores as the exclusive responsibility of women. This dichotomy justifies the division of responsibilities after marriage. As girls

are considered more soft and emotional, their role is tied to human aspects of life. As one *koti* respondent observes: *"after marriage wife has to take care of her husband, children and in-laws along with taking care of the entire household"* and *"since man is the earner more responsibilities lie on him."* Accordingly, men are not supposed to do household chores as he is being assigned the more responsible role of breadwinner and provider and thus the protector of the family.

The role of provider and protector in the family has high endorsement with 97 percent and 98 percent respectively. Similarly, being sexually faithful to wife has been considered pivotal by 96 percent. However, only 64 percent respondents have considered the role of procreator important. This may be a reflection of the ambiguity MSM men feel about procreation. The role of protector is not restricted to the private sphere alone. Protecting the weak, women and children outside the family (in the public domain) is an equally important responsibility of men. It is, therefore, important for a *koti* to protect a women being teased in public. This has been cited as an example of a *koti* attempting to prove and defend his masculinity.

The dissonance between the notions and practices of masculinity is explored in different contexts of an individual. It is further explained by the roles and responsibilities one assumes in different contexts and hierarchies of relationships. The *kotis*, who identify/feel themselves as women in their relationship with *giriya*, are men when it comes to their own household. Thus 52.63 percent of them say that they control what their women do. Ninety-two percent of *kotis* say that being responsible is the essential marker of being a man. Regarding the most important responsibilities, 100 percent say that it is earning money, and 97 percent say that it is protecting the family and being sexually faithful to one's wife.

The modes of behavior that are associated with men and women are more expected from girls because of the historically gendered division of roles and responsibilities and spaces. Due to regulation applied in the human interactions and activities, people grow up with highly regimented notions and practices. It is this regimentation of roles and responsibilities that marks differences in man and woman and leads to the construction of masculinity and femininity.

Masculinity and sexuality

Considering the unique nature of this study, the question of sexuality and construction of masculinity assumes great importance. It has been observed that masculinity has been associated with a man's ability to sexually satisfy his wife/partner. Ability to sexually satisfy as a characteristic of men's sexuality has been endorsed by 98 percent of those who endorsed sexuality as an important attribute of masculinity. Likewise, 85 percent respondents consider being sexually active important. It is noteworthy that only 68 percent agree that being married is important for men's sexuality, while freedom to choose partner (81 percent), desire and ability to penetrate (72 percent) and expression of sexuality according to one's choice (73 percent) have recorded higher endorsement.

For *giriyas* who consider themselves as "real men," the ability to satisfy his wife/partner is litmus test for being a man, or "mard." Otherwise he will be considered as non-masculine. The act of penetration is considered to be a masculine act, while being passive is being un-masculine. Even for *kotis*, it is very important for a man to satisfy his wife sexually. Only then he would be considered as possessing masculinity. It must be noted that a large number of *giriyas* do not consider themselves as homosexual. For them, homosexuals are those who get penetrated. Since they are the ones who penetrate, their masculinity does not get affected; rather some said that it gets enhanced, as it is very important for man to be sexually active and to be able to sexually satisfy wife/partner. As one respondent remarks: *"poora mard wahi jo apni patni ko puri tarah se santushti pradan kare" (The complete man is the one who can provide complete sexual satisfaction to his wife)*. For this conception of masculinity, being married and a having bigger penis are very important markers of being a man. This notion of masculine sexuality is dominant among the giriyas. It seems that being married for them is a symbol of

their masculine status in society. The desire and ability to satisfy their wives sexually is also linked to their concept of man who is the one who controls the household and thus in control of the situations.

Interestingly, masculinity of a man is questioned when he is abused with the words like gaandoo. This is also an idiom used for the homosexuals who get penetrated. The pejorative expression, "gaand maardunga" means that I would sexually subjugate you so that you lose your male identity. This, in other words, means that homosexuality in itself is unmasculine, and a homosexual with passive sex roles is all the more unmasculine. The passive actors in the homosexual relationship are considered to be unmasculine because, in the traditional concept of sex, man should always be on the top. Similarly, the transgender behavior is considered to be a deviation from the masculine. The statement that *'a man who does not have the disease of homosexuality is a normal man'* is a representative of the heterosexual notions regarding masculinity and sexuality. This also indicates that homosexuality is a disease that plagues the manhood, having an impact on his normal behavior and manliness.

The endorsement of masculine characteristics by the respondents indicates that it stands for every thing in opposition to femininity. Women are considered to be emotional, weak and sensitive in contrast to men. In terms of sexuality, she is looked upon as a docile partner. Her roles and responsibilities are endorsed in the domestic domain in opposition to men. This division of space is justified that with the entry of women in to the public domain they would not fulfill their domestic responsibilities. Thus the dominant picture that comes out of the data is that masculinity is the preserve of men alone. In situations where women possess certain masculine characteristics she can be considered behaving like a man, not masculine. The biological essentialism of masculinity is clearer when respondents say that women can not be masculine while even a weak man can be considered masculine.

However, there are some marginal voices which suggest that the entry of women to the hitherto manly domain would make them masculine. The examples of Indira Gandhi, Kiran Bedi and Malleswari are often cited to suggest the masculine nature of women. Masculinity, thus, is more about behavior and roles. For the *koti* community, masculinity is not stereotypical attributes only. This 'community', which identifies itself as feminine, wants their men to be polite, decent, caring, loving and well-behaved. This is a departure from the stereotypical understanding of masculinity.

The concept of masculinity, therefore, is an oppositional as well as a relational category as it comes out in our qualitative data. It stands for everything in opposition to feminine and in the context of relations that are deviant and not conforming to the stereotypical models of sexualities. For both *kotis* and *giriyas*, this view has come out very prominently that men and women are naturally different from each other, and that there are certain responsibilities that only men can assume. It is men who interact with the outside world and thus are more practical as compared to women. For both the categories of *kotis* and *giriyas*, it has come out that masculinity is inextricably linked with power and the exercise of control. As one *giriya* remarks, "*you have to constantly prove and reaffirm your masculinity*." In this exercise of reaffirming one's masculinity, one is required to exercise control over his wife and children or his partner. Following Bourdieu, we may say that masculinity is also constricting for men as it is for women. But the institutions of patriarchy have given more open space to men as compared to women. The exercise/ display of masculinity come out at two levels. For some respondents, it means protecting women's honor, even to the extent of sacrificing one's life. On the other hand, masculinity represents the domination of women and children. This view of dominance also justifies a certain amount of violence towards women, if that violence is employed to control her. Can we therefore argue that masculinity is linked with violence? Can we conclude that masculinity is a major source/cause

of violence against women? Let us try and understand here the possible linkages through our respondents understanding of the notions and practices of violence.

Exploring Violence

The phenomenon of violence is universal, cutting across class, caste, religion and cultures. The issue of domestic violence has been identified as an issue of concern in the debates on violence against woman. While a great deal of understanding has been developed on the question of domestic violence in the heterosexual context, there has not been much research conducted on the issue of same-sex domestic violence (i.e., in MSM relationships or where a MSM who is also married inflicts violence against his wife). While trying to understand the notions and definitions of violence, this study also involves an examination of the complexities in men's own account of violence against women, especially wife and intimate partners. It also explores the account of men's experience of violence from within and outside the homosexual relationships.

Violence has been classified as verbal, emotional, physical and sexual violence. Use of force and abusive language, violation of rights, causing emotional damage and physical fights are considered to be different forms of violence. '*Violence is lack of freedom or choice.*' This response is possibly the broadest definition of violence. Lack of space for expression of alternative sexualities or disclosure of MSM identity, and non-recognition of sexualities are considered as forms of violence. The definition and recognition of violence encompasses all possible areas of conflict irrespective of space, forms and consequences. Though these definitions and recognition of violence revolve mostly in and around the public space, it also covers private and 'domestic' in the classical sense. In the situations, use of force has been considered wrong by a large section of the sample.

However, many agreed that there are situations that justify violence, especially in the context of intimate and marital relationships. For example, it is justified because "*violence brings calm after its occurrence*" and, therefore, use of violence is considered to be normal. It is pointed out that violence takes place mainly due to use of force and control, especially in the context of intimate relationships, be it between father and son or husband and wife within the household. The use of force is justified to maintain discipline and order. Consequently, the use of force becomes the prerogative of men to maintain discipline and order in the family and in the society at large. The quantitative data shows that there is a wide range of reasons that justify violence against wife. There is high endorsement across the categories to use of force against wife if she is sexually unfaithful; the lowest agreement to this notion, at 63 percent, was among Hindi-speaking gay men.

Though the qualitative data does not provide any significant insight to the violence against women, it does reveal interesting findings regarding the prevalence of violence at many levels in the MSM context. Moreover, violence within the MSM relationship itself destabilizes the stereotype of men as aggressor. The partner violence in the MSM community generally occurs in the relationship that has some amount of durability. This kind of violence is often reported in the *koti-giriya* relationship. The intercommunity violence such as *koti-koti* violence has also been significant in the qualitative data. However, the qualitative data does not shed light on the dynamics of violence in other categories. The data suggests that *giriya* inflict violence on *koti* in the 'domestic' setting of their relationship. This, however, does not pre-empt the possibility of partner violence in a public place.

One-hundred fourteen MSM interviews suggest that restrictions, sanctions and surveillance against their intimate partners are carried out with varying frequencies and in different volumes in different categories. The data shows that the same sex partner violence is very much prevalent within the study population. Out of 114 MSM respondents, 32 percent report imposing restrictions and sanctions on their partners. It is the emotional and sexual violence that has been reported by 40 percent of the MSM samples. Twenty-two percent report having inflicted physical violence

on their partners. However, what is most revealing and troubling is the fact that 61 percent of the MSM samples report having perpetrated any one type of violence in the last 12 months. What is surprising is the occurrence of violence in the most educated and high-income group of English speaking gay men on their partners. Forty-seven percent reported having restricted their partners, while 42 percent have reported inflicting emotional violence. This violent behavior resembles the practices of the low-income group of *kotis*. The restrictions on partner by *kotis* can be explained by understanding the prevalent fluid relationship among the *kotis* and *giriyas*. This fluid relationship creates anxiety that results in possessiveness, which in turn is manifested in the form of violence. The frequency of violence is detailed in the table below.

It is important to note that it is the Hindi speaking gay men and *giriyas* who have reported the lowest violence in the form of restrictions. Hindi-speaking gay men rarely report violence in the form of restrictions and sanctions. Interestingly, it is *giriyas* who have reported highest level of forced sex against their partners. Of 105 MSM who had a sexual relationship, 29 percent have had sex with their partner when he was not willing. Thirty-one percent of English-speaking gay and *giriya* have had sex with their partner with out their consent. Furthermore, 28 percent *giriyas* refused to use a condom despite a request to do so from his partner. The high reporting of physical and sexual violence against partners by *giriyas* can be explained by the existing hierarchies within the *koti-giriya* relationship. On the other hand, the violence endured by other respondents gives a different picture of power relations within MSM community. The following table explains the dynamics within the MSM community through the expression of violence.

Table 1: Behavior Frequency Towards Partner

Greatest frequency reported	Control	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence	Physical Violence
Rarely (1-2)	4.4%	7%	11.4%	6%
Sometimes (3-10)	17.5%	14.9%	17.5%	10.5%
Frequently (>10)	7.9%	15.8%	10.5%	4.4%

Source: Field Survey, 2001

The experience of physical violence was reported less frequently in comparison to other forms of violence (25 percent). Out of 22 percent of MSM who were slapped by their partners, the *kotis* most frequently reported violent experiences. Nearly 45 percent of *kotis* reported that they experienced physical violence during last one year. An examination of the experience of sexual violence by the respondents shows that there is a high rate of sexual violence taking place within the MSM relationship. Thirty-five percent of total MSM respondents report having sex without consent. Similarly, the refusal to use condom by partner were reported by 26 percent *kotis*. All other forms of sexual violence, such as use of physical force or threats to have sex, were experienced by *kotis*, sometimes resulting in physical injury. That the highest rates of sexual violence (61 percent) and overall violence are experienced by *kotis* (76 percent) (See Table 4) is an indication of the power relations in the *koti-giriya* relationship. The lowest reporting of violent experiences by *giriyas* also explains the power hierarchies that the hegemonic masculinity of *giriyas* have created.

Additionally, the quantitative data points to the prevalence of violence against wife in both heterosexual and MSM family settings. There are 78 married respondents of which 36 respondents have partners as well. The data in Table 3 shows that emotional violence against wife has been reported with highest frequency (55 percent) followed by sexual violence (51 percent). Considering the number of married English-speaking gay men (four), the report of violence in percentage may be misleading and statistically insignificant. The violence against wife reported by *koti* is the highest of all the categories. High frequency of emotional and sexual violence on wife by *kotis* can be seen as a result of their experience of violence and also as an expression of their notions of masculinity that is to be proved and defended.

Overall the findings point to discouragingly high levels of violence in intimate and marital relations. While 74 percent of the total married samples report violence against wife, 61 percent report violence against partner (see Table 4). Similarly 67 percent MSM respondents have reported partner violence in the private domain.

This high occurrence of violence necessitates a thorough exploration of possible linkages between masculinity and violence.

Exploring Masculinity and Violence

"I was sitting in a park, my interaction with transgender MSM made me target of violence…I was asked to do sexual favors by my superior…I had to hide my MSM identity because I was worried about how family is going to react, how society will react…Disclosure of my MSM identity will add to the shame."

These are some of the responses from the in-depth interviews and FGDs. There are cases of fear of po-

Table 2: Violence by Partner on Respondent (n = 114).

	Gay (English)	Gay (Hindi)	Giriya	Koti	TOTAL
Restrictions, sanctions, and surveillance on partner	31.6%	36.8%	28.9%	44.7%	36.0%
Emotional violence by partner	31.6%	52.6%	26.3%	57.9%	42.1%
Physical violence by partner	15.8%	10.5%	18.4%	44.7%	25.4%
Sexual violence by partner	36.8%	36.8%	28.9%	60.5%	42.1%

Source: Field Survey, 2001

Table 3: Violence on Wife by Respondent (n=78)

	Gay (English)	Gay (Hindi)	Giriya	Koti	Straight	TOTAL
Restrictions, sanctions, and surveillance on wife	25.0%	37.5%	23.5%	54.5%	28.9%	32.1%
Emotional violence on wife	75.0%	75.0%	41.2%	81.8%	47.4%	55.1%
Physical violence on wife	50.0%	37.5%	23.5%	45.5%	18.4%	26.9%
Sexual violence on wife	50.0%	62.5%	58.8%	81.8%	36.8%	51.3%

Source: Field Survey, 2001

Table 4: Reporting Total Violence

	GAE	GAH	GIR	KOT	STR	TOTAL
Any type of violence on wife (n=78)	75.0%	100%	70.6%	100%	63.2%	74.4%
Any type of violence by partner (n=114)	57.9%	73.7%	57.9%	76.3%	*	66.7%
Any type of violence on partner (n=114)	68.4%	57.9%	55.3%	65.8%	*	61.4%

* Not applicable **Source:** Field Survey, 2001

lice harassment, extortion, denial of jobs, teasing and denied access to health facilities. There are cases of self-inflicted violence, including suicide attempts, among MSM men, all because of a sexuality that is different from the dominant one. Why does this deviation evoke these violent responses or create a sense of insecurity and fear in the minds of these men? Answers to these questions may lead us to understand the phenomenon of masculinity and the prevalence of violence.

There are two levels of issues to consider in understanding the links between masculinity and violence. At one level, the data among the MSM community has highlighted that masculinity is essentially about fulfilling roles and responsibilities within the family and in society at large. To fulfill these roles and responsibilities, important markers of masculinity are control and power, especially control of family and women and maintaining discipline. In fact, many of the respondents consider aggressiveness as a manly attribute and submissiveness as a womanly characteristic. This notion of masculinity embodied in men gets translated into practice, as masculinity has to be constantly proved and defended.

At another level, the societal expectations for man to perform his masculine roles are unfulfilled when he deviates from the dominant, mainstream sexual behavior. As transgender and homosexual behavior is unmasculine, it can provoke violence because men engaging in such behaviors do not conform to societal norms regarding a man's conduct, roles and responsibilities.

If homosexuality is a deviation from masculinity itself, it is important to review what is expected of a man sexually to maintain his masculinity. The heterosexual perception that the frequent initiation of sex by women can lead to violence represents what is expected of a man sexually. In other words, initiation of sexual interaction by women questions men's sexuality, as the widely agreed marker of male sexuality is men initiating sexual interactions. Similarly, controlling sex, desire and ability to penetrate are also important determinants of masculinity.

The politics of penetration and the hierarchy that emanates from this politics creates a complex dynamic in human relationships, even among those who by their homosexual practice are challenging patriarchial norms. The dynamics of *koti-giriya* relationship is an example of how penetration is important in creating hierarchies and power relations. Accordingly, *giriya*, based on his status in the sexual relationship, assumes the role of provider and protector, while the unmasculine *koti*— who typically is penetrated in the MSM relationship—takes care of the household chores. Thus the existing notions of female sexuality get crystallized in the MSM relationship by predetermined sexual roles in *koti-giriya* relationship. Forcing sex on a woman when she refuses is a way of asserting and proving one's masculinity. A similar manifestation of power is possible within the MSM relationship as well, where *giriya* enjoys more power vis à vis his *koti.*

The notions regarding women and women's work reinforce the gendered roles and responsibilities that enhance the power and control of men over women. These notions define the domestic as the domain of women, while the notions regarding violence justifies the use of violence in the domestic domain, particularly against women. The use of force is justified for maintaining discipline and order. Consequently, the use of force becomes the prerogative of men to maintain discipline and order in the family and in the society at large.

All of these notions have been based upon the opposition between the masculine and feminine. Regarding the perception of men and women, respondents argue that the division between man and women is natural. Indeed, this dichotomy between man and woman is also true for the power differentials that operate within the *koti-giriya* relationship. This power differential derives its legitimacy from various notions of masculinity that we have just discussed. In

fact we can say that notions of masculinity have some kind of an 'elective affinity' with notions and practices of violence. This correspondence between masculinity and violence has been the product of the same episteme, the same discourse, which divides the social space between masculine and non-masculine.

Can we actually dichotomize social space difference between private and public? We know that a lot of domestic violence is justified in the name of being private affair of an individual or the family. The dynamics between private and public is brought out in the different experience of the *giriya* and *koti*. The giriyas in the study sample were neither harassed by the police or family to any significant extent as they can not be easily identified. Since the *giriyas* are the one who penetrate, they are less likely to be stigmatized. On the other hand, the *koti* is as much troubled by his family as by the police. In public spaces, *kotis* have been targets of physical violence and sexual harassment or sexual violence by the police or just by any straight men. This organ of the state (police) is backed by the judiciary, which outlaws what it defines as 'unnatural' sexual practices. More importantly, under the threat of ridicule of society at large, the family also perpetrates violence against *kotis* by restricting movements or forcing psychiatric care. Such violence is not just a private affair, for the family derives legitimacy for their acts from sources outside the family, which are not private but public in character. These sources are the value system, the cultural mechanisms, the state, judiciary etc. In other words, masculine notions and the associated power hierarchies articulated within the public space are reflected in the private domain. Within the MSM population, the hierarchical relation between the masculine and non-masculine is reproduced everywhere within the society, be it the public space or private space. There is a need, therefore, to do away with such a kind of distinction. The notions of violence within the public sphere also justify the notions and practices of violence within the private space. Hence, there is a need to relocate the very meaning of the domestic itself. There is therefore just one social space and one hegemonic ideology of masculinity, which permeates each and every aspect of that social space. Within this context, the individual MSM has to maintain a dual identity, which leads to tension that finds expression in violence on self, partner and if married on spouse.

It is important to examine how notions of masculinity and gendered division of roles and responsibilities are constructed. The data provides ample evidence, establishing masculinity as a socio-cultural construct. The process of masculinity construction starts right from the childhood, with the toys given to boys and girls and the games they play and they are encouraged to participate in. This also suggests that the notions and practices regarding masculinity are shaped through nurture, and these change according to different life stages and contexts. Though one's idea of a masculine man is tall, dark and handsome in his adolescence, it may change as he matures.

But the patriarchal notions regarding men's roles and responsibilities become further crystallized in the process of socialization. One respondent stated that he does not like to be a subordinate to a female superior, as he was raised in a household where his father governed his mother. This instance demonstrates how patriarchal family structures reaffirm the notions and practices of masculinity. Thus, nurture—rather than nature—plays a key role in the creation of dichotomy between masculine and feminine. Despite this, many respondents held to a notion of biological essentialism of masculinity and femininity. There is further contradiction between the ideal and actual that is further explained by the respondents themselves. For the majority of the respondents, real men are those who have sex with their women. Homosexuality is therefore unnatural and unmasculine. These statements coming from the straight population are perfectly understandable. But these are also the statements of MSM population.

Perhaps to understand these statements, one needs to relate these individuals to the overall heteropatriarchial social structure within which they operate. This is a reflection of a poor self-image of the MSM that is constructed through the heteropatriarchal social order and experiences of vio-

lence. Due to their socialization, they internalize certain notions, which are very hard to give up. These form the ideal, the normative. But the actual practices differ from the normative order; the ideal of a man-woman relationship does not deter the MSM community from engaging in physical relationships with other men.

This contradiction between ideal versus actual norms creates a tension, which points to the fact that notions and practices of masculinity exist in a flux and yield to plural/multiple identities. A *koti*, for example, behaves effeminately within an MSM space, but would pose as straight in other spaces. He enjoys having sex with man; yet if he is married, he also has sex with his wife. Thus, masculinity is plural not only in the sense of plurality of spaces but it leads to plural orientations within an individual personality itself. There can't be any unitary, fixed character/ attribute of masculinity. However, does even this fluid conception of masculinity help explain in any way the incidences of violence cited in the texts?

With respect to violence against wife, men who report specific practices or endorse particular markers of masculinity are likely to report violence. For example, examination of 36 married respondents who reported controlling sex in their intimate relationships reveals significant trends that suggest a link between masculinity and violence. Of these, 61 percent have had sex with their wife when she was not willing and this was across the board regardless if they were *kotis* (71 percent), *giriyas* (60 percent), or straight (70 percent). Similarly, examination of 41 respondents who opined that having control on women's actions and decisions reveals again that such men were likely to perpetrate violence against wife. Of the *kotis* and *giriyas* who agreed on the above-mentioned characteristics, 43 percent and 40 percent, respectively, have refused to let wife go out of the house. Similarly 34 percent reported having done something to instill fear in their wife through gestures or looks, and 56 percent reported inflicting sexual violence on their wife. Further, 40 percent of those who think that controlling women in the family or community displays power reported different kinds of violence against their wife.

With respect to violence against partners, of the 66 respondents who reported controlling sex, 35 percent reported sexual violence against their partners. Fifty-four percent of Hindi-speaking gay men who initiate sex in their relationship report the same kind of violence against their partners. Out of 24 *giriyas* who control sex in their intimate relationship, 42 percent have had sex with their partners while he was not willing. Similarly, among people who think that it is okay to use force if the partner is sexually not faithful, *kotis* and gays (English) have reported higher rates of violence against their partners—32 percent *kotis* and 40 percent GAE have refused to let partners go out of the house. On the whole there emerges a pattern of association between endorsing stereotypical notions of masculinity and the infliction of violence on partner or wife.

Thus, this study shows that the endorsement of masculine characteristics and pressure to prove, defend and maintain masculinity may evoke violent responses. Similarly, any deviation from or challenge to the dominant, hegemonic masculine ideology may make the deviant the object of violence. The object of violence in a particular situation may become the agent of violence in a different power setting. The *koti-giriya* dynamics and violence in their relationship and the transmission of violence by *kotis* to their wives highlights this dynamic of power relations.

The examination of the endorsement of masculinity notions and violent practices as attempted above may not lead us to conclusions that can be generalized, primarily because of the tiny sample size. Much more methodologically rigorous explorations are required to determine these linkages. It may be therefore safe to argue that the discourse of masculinity is inextricably linked with regimes of violence. However, the point is not to say that masculinity *per se* is good or bad, but rather to conduct more research to see under what conditions being masculine also means being violent.

Links Between Masculinity and Violence: Aggregate Analysis

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In order to conceptualize long-term programmatic interventions to prevent domestic violence, it is critical to move beyond a simplistic conclusion that men are "by nature" violent. Rather, a program framework should incorporate both common attributes found across countries and cultures in masculinity and violence, as well as the specific context in which a program is to take place. In this concluding section, we focus on an aggregate analysis of the data to explore the linkages between masculinity and violence. Each individual site report delineates associations between masculinity and violence within the specific socio-political and economic dynamics of the region. While the regional context is extremely important in understanding varying patterns of masculinity and of violence, aggregate analyses help elucidate findings that may cut across sociopolitical, economic and cultural differences. Analyses of variations in understanding of masculinity and reporting of violence by demographic factors, such as age, education, employment and socio-economic status (SES)[1], provide a richer understanding of masculinity and of violence by men in India.

This aggregate analysis is based on pooled data from Punjab (250), Rajasthan (485) and Tamil Nadu (232). Data from the NAZ study (152) were not included in the analysis as the sampling procedure was not comparable. NAZ had a purposive random sample to ensure that they could get an adequate number of men engaging in MSM behavior; and these respondents were recruited at different cruising sites. In addition, heterosexual men included in the sample were also recruited purposively, rather than selected randomly. However, as the findings of the NAZ study are critical for a comprehensive understanding of masculinity and violence, relevant insights from that study are woven into the discussion.

Markers of Masculinity

India's diversity is due to regional differences in sociocultural, political, historical and economic dynamics. However, the findings indicate that there are broad commonalities, both in construction and content, of Indian masculinities. Men in all regions surveyed agreed that certain characteristics, including physical appearance, conduct, responsibilities and sexuality, are markers of masculinity (see Table 1 on page 54 and 55). Within these characteristics, there was also nearly universal agreement for several more detailed characteristics. For example, in all regions 90 percent or more agreed that physical strength, style and dress were important to enhance men's physical appearance. In a different sense of "appearance," the ability to handle physical labor was agreed to be an important marker of masculinity by over 90 percent of men. In terms of conduct, over 90 percent agreed that dignity, independence and control are important masculinity markers, in addition to showing endurance in difficult times, fighting for one's country, and

[1] Respondents were grouped into socio-economic status classes based on an unweighted index. Respondents received scores for type and regularity of employment, number and quality of assets, and level of education. These three scores were added together to form a single socio-economic score for each respondent. Respondents were then grouped into three equally sized classes based on their total scores. Unemployed men were placed into the classes based on their education and assets only.

Table 1: Agreement Rates to Masculinity Characteristics[1,2]

Essential Characteristics	%	Secondary Characteristics	%	Tertiary Characteristics	%
Physical Appearance	86.6	Physique	89.1	Body building	84.0
				Sports	85.8
				Physical work	**91.1**
				Physical strength and ability to fight	32.0
		Physical strength	**97.5**		
		Facial hair	87.5		
		Style	**94.3**		
		What he wears	**90.8**		
Conduct	**96.8**	**Dignity**	**93.2**	Retaliating when someone calls you names or is offensive	69.3
				Not quarreling	83.2
				Maintaining the privacy of your family or community	86.8
				Exercising control over others	45.8
				Refusing subordination in work or social sphere	42.6
		Taking risks for others (courage)	82.4	**Showing endurance in difficult times**	**93.5**
				Rebelling against inappropriate or corrupt behavior	84.4
				Taking initiative in larger issues that affect your community	88.4
				Fighting with four or five men	40.1
				Fighting for the country	**91.0**
		Taking risks for self (boldness)	83.6	Breaking social norms or rules	27.5
				Being reckless	11.7
				Talking back	65.8
				Taking risks for self-advancement	76.1
		Independence	**92.6**	Not taking help from men	44.6
				Not taking help from women	56.7
				Being private about your problems	78.7
				Not being swayed by others	89.9
				Having and voicing your own opinion	79.4
		Power	78.2	Social status from the family	86.5
				Influencing other men's actions and decisions	42.0
				Influencing women's actions and decisions	37.0
				Others being afraid of you	27.8
				Having financial resources	79.3
				Having non-financial resources	78.8
				Maintaining order in the community	74.8
				Maintaining order in the family	85.9
		Control	89.6	**Control over oneself**	**96.3**
				Being demanding	22.1
				Not being dominated by others	78.9
				Controlling people outside the family or community	48.7

Table continues on next page

Table 1: Agreement Rates to Masculinity Characteristics[1,2] (continued)

Essential Characteristics	%	Secondary Characteristics	%	Tertiary Characteristics	%
				Controlling other men	34.6
				Controlling women in the family or community	71.5
				Controlling one's wife	87.1
Responsibilities	**97.4**	(within the family)	-	**Protecting the family**	**98.2**
				Being sexually faithful to one's wife	**94.6**
				To earn money	**98.7**
				To have children	**90.6**
				To have a male child	44.2
		(outside the family)	-	**Protecting the weak**	**91.6**
				Protecting women	88.3
				Protecting children	89.1
				Protecting the community	88.5
				Protecting the country	**93.3**
Privileges	80.1	Being the primary decisionmaker or having his say	76.0		
		Expressing his sexuality as he chooses	24.6		
		Being able to go where he wants, do, or say what he wants	87.1		
Sexuality	89.8	Freedom to choose any type of sexual partner	32.1		
		Being sexually active	**90.4**		
		Fulfillment of his own sexual urges first without regard to his partner's desires	34.2		
		Having many sexual partners	11.2		
		Being married	**93.5**		
		Ability to sexually satisfy his partner	**97.1**	The size of his penis	71.9
				Frequency and duration of intercourse	72.1
				Initiating and controlling sex	82.3
				Sexual penetration by the man	85.2
				Force during sex	58.2

[1] Notions that 90% or more of men agree with are in bold.

[2] Agreement levels of secondary and tertiary characteristics are a percentage of those asked the option and not of the total sample.

Source: Quantitative Field Survey, 2001

control over oneself. In terms of sexuality, the key markers of masculinity were being sexually active, being married and ability to sexually satisfy the wife/partner. There was near universal agreement to all the family responsibilities listed as being markers of masculinity: a man must be a provider, protector, procreator and sexually faithful. However, in terms of responsibilities outside the family, there was high agreement only to protecting the weak and the country.

Both aggregate and site specific analyses underscore common characteristics of masculinity endorsed. This pattern marks even NAZ's study of the MSM community. As with the other studies, the NAZ study indicated high endorsement of physical appearance, dignity, control, roles of men as provider and protector, being married and being sexually faithful to wife. Thus these characteristics constitute a normative understanding of masculinity in India. Closer examina-

tion of the data also indicates significant variation in endorsement of other critical markers of masculinity such as power, privileges and boldness. An examination of findings organized by their consistency with themes of masculinity delineated in the literature may help understand these variations in men's understanding of masculinity.

Themes of Masculinity

Masculinity as the expression of gender roles

One important commonality that emerged across sites was men fulfilling three key roles: protector, provider, and procreator. Perhaps most interesting are findings related to the procreator role. As expected, agreement to the procreator role was nearly universal, with 91 percent of men agreeing that having children is an important part of men's responsibilities. Interestingly, however, only half this number–44 percent–felt that having a male child is a marker of this responsibility. This finding verifies other studies that have found that in India bearing sons is considered solely a woman's responsibility. It also suggests the need to critically evaluate assumptions correlating lack of sons with some men's violence against their wives.

The importance of the provider was also upheld universally, with 99 percent of men agreeing that earning money is an important part of men's responsibilities. However, the site studies also highlight how the concept of provider changes with context. In Rajasthan, maintaining a sense of family prestige, such as family honor and social status, is essential to being a provider for the Rajputs, while for the Jats, it is embodied in working hard to earn money. Jat men's anxiety resulting from their inability to earn money due to drought men further attests to the primary importance of earning to the Jat male. In Tamil Nadu, where economic changes and increased participation of women in the work force are undermining men's roles as primary providers, some men (e.g., Dalit youth) appear to have redefined their role of providers as that of providing protection for the community and women folk.

As expected, men also had high agreement to their role as protectors as an important masculinity marker. Ninety-eight percent of men agreed that protecting the family is an important responsibility for men. Contrary to expectations, 92 percent, 88 percent, 89 percent, and 86 percent of men agreed that, respectively, protecting the weak, women, children, and the community is an important part of men's responsibilities. Surprisingly, 93 percent of men agreed that protecting the country is an important responsibility for men. Given the marked ideological, historical, cultural and political differences among regions in India, it is commonly believed that the concept of the nation state is not relevant, especially in the rural areas. The finding thus contradicts this assumption and points to the need for further exploration. The high agreement rates can be partly explained by the fact that the survey was carried out in the wake of India's recent war with Pakistan in 2000, which led to a nation-wide spurt in nationalism. Commentators on political dynamics in India point to an increasing trend of "macho nationalism" that emphasizes physical might and aggression as desirable "masculine" traits. Alternatively, the lower priority given to protecting the community found in this study is consistent with growing documentation of a decline of the localized sense of community, such as seen in fragmentation of communities by the global economy. Men's sense of the community they identify with and the processes that influence the sense of the community, such as war, may have important implications on what is seen as "successful" masculinity and warrant further study.

Masculinity as in opposition to femininity

If masculinity is an oppositional category to femininity, one would expect to find highest agreement to traits contrary to those associated with women. Qualitative data across sites revealed a strong articulation that unlike women, men are dignified, do not quarrel, are private, have great capacity to endure, are bold and are courageous. Quantitative data also support a general consensus among men regarding masculine versus feminine traits, particularly those pertaining to conduct. There was high agreement to attributing dignity, not quarrelling, control over self, and endurance as masculine traits, with little variation by age, education or SES.

Physical qualities that women are seen to lack, such as "physique," physical strength, and physical work also had very high agreement—89 percent, 97 percent, and 91 percent respectively. However there is variability in agreement to these notions by education, age and social status (see Tables M1, M2, M3, and M4 in the Appendix). In particular, there is a distinct inverse relationship between agreement to physical work and level of education. In terms of socio-economic status, there is a difference in the agreement level to physical work for the high status group (81 percent) compared to middle status and low status groups (96 percent and 95 percent). The data also indicate a new definition of physique by the youth and men with higher education and of high SES, with higher endorsement of body-building and sports for these groups of men. This is consistent with trends found in Tamil Nadu. Yet even these new markers of physique may not be considered exclusively masculine. Men in Rajasthan cited the example of Malleswari, a woman Olympic weight lifting title holder as evidence that that women can engage in sports and body building.

Masculinity as expression of power and control

In the questionnaire, both *sources and outcomes* of power were assessed. For control *methods and outcomes* were assessed. Reading the two together, it is interesting to note that there was significantly higher endorsement of control as a masculinity marker (90 percent) than power (78 percent). There were also significant differences by socio-economic and employment status. Those with low SES have less endorsement of both power and control. In terms of employment status, the daily wage laborers had the lowest endorsement of these characteristics.

In terms of sources of power there was high agreement to the importance of social status (87 percent). Both financial resources and non-financial resources are also seen as important (around 78 percent and 75 percent respectively), with no differences by age, education, or social status. In terms of methods of control, there was very little agreement that being demanding is an important aspect of masculinity (22 percent), while agreement that not being dominated was much higher (79 percent).

There are clear patterns regarding the outcomes of power and control. The highest endorsement of masculinity markers in this category was control over wife and order in the family. Interestingly, there was higher endorsement of both these norms with lower education, lower employment status and lower SES. However, there was a strong positive relationship between education, employment status and SES, and control over and influencing other men (both commonly viewed as indicators of leadership). Endorsement of order in the community was highest for the middle status group, followed by the low status group.

Patterns of endorsement of types of power and control appear related to the individual's perception of personal agency, or their sense of control over their own circumstances. Men with possibilities of exercising power or control in public domain (e.g., educated men or men of higher social status) more often valued control external to the family, that of other men and the outside community. In contrast, men with fewer possibilities of exercising power in the outside space, (e.g., those with less education and lower SES) more often endorsed control within the family, of women and maintaining family order. Findings from Punjab demonstrate the relative importance of public image for non-scheduled (lower) caste (SC) men, with SC men articulating a greater concern about maintaining control of women in family and community.

Power and control are often embodied in leadership. Qualitative data from across sites indicate that leadership is seen as masculine. Related aspects articulated included men rebelling against corrupt behavior or taking initiative in larger issues. The masculinization of leadership in the public domain is so complete that both leadership behavior and the individual exhibiting such behavior are labeled masculine. For example, ex-Prime minister, Indira Gandhi, famed for tough leadership, was viewed as masculine by focus groups in both Rajasthan and the MSM community.

Masculinity as expression of sexuality

The findings on sexuality in the study suggest a need to critically evaluate prevailing myths about male sexuality. For example, one common myth is that male sexuality is unrestrained by social norms, especially marriage. Study findings, however, reveal that men strongly correlate masculinity with being married, being sexually faithful and the ability to satisfy wife/partner, with no variation by demographics. Similarly, there was very low agreement to freedom to choose partner (32 percent), fulfilling sexual urges first (34 percent) or having many partners (11 percent). There were significant variations by age of notions of sexuality, with young men endorsing lack of restraint in much higher numbers. MSM men had opposite endorsement patterns to that of men from the other three sites, with lower agreement with the importance of being married (68 percent) and higher agreement with the importance to freely choose sexual partners (81 percent). In contrast to the pooled quantitative data, qualitative data from Tamil Nadu and Punjab of the other sites indicates that men view sexual infidelity and having many sexual partners as natural for men.

The second departure from myths regarding male sexuality as self-focused comes from focus group data, especially in Rajasthan, in which men emphasized the ability to sexually satisfy wife as the man's burden. This burden finds its roots in the belief that women are insatiable sexually, making it incumbent on the man to take initiative, interpret her desires and perform as often as required. This could increase likelihood of misreading of the woman's desire ("no" means "yes") and of the use of control and power to restrain female sexuality. Indeed, an examination of the elements that constitute ability to sexually satisfy wife/partner reinforces the interpretation of female sexuality as dangerous and in need for control by men. There is significant endorsement of initiating and controlling sex as constituting sexual satisfaction. Youth, educated and high status men endorse this norm at very high levels. There was also high degree of endorsement for frequency and duration of sex. Most disturbingly, nearly 60 percent the men who agreed that the ability to sexually satisfy was an important marker of masculinity felt that force during sex was a characteristic of ability to sexually satisfy wife/partner. Youth and men of middle social status were most likely to endorse the use of force during sex.

Qualitative data from Rajasthan, Punjab, and Tamil Nadu affirm the higher degree of importance placed on the sanctity of male sexuality and his prestige as compared to that of a woman by both men themselves and the community at large. This is echoed in the ability to sexually satisfy wife/partner as a man's burden critical to prevent the unsatisfied woman from "roaming with other men." Any form of public questioning of male sexuality was consistently reported to seriously undermine male masculinity. Data from Punjab demonstrate the seriousness of women's challenging her husband's virility and the severe sanctions that the community places on such indiscretions. Together, men's collective and individual notions of their own sexuality as a masculinity marker, as well as their cognizance of women's sexuality, appear to increase risk for both sexual and physical violence against women.

Masculinity as performance

Psychological literature suggests that men insecure about their gender identity compensate with hypermasculine behavior (adhering more rigidly to norms of masculinity). This suggests that these men are more likely to endorse those norms that they can enact in their own lives. Alternatively, men who are secure may be more open or have more fluid understanding of the markers of masculinity, thereby differing in what they endorse as masculine behavior and what they practice in their lives without anxiety about their gender identity.

The importance of examining endorsement of markers of masculinity in relation to the reporting of masculine behaviors is indicated by data from NAZ. These data highlight insecurity about gender identity as leading to more rigid endorsement of markers of masculinity in opposition to femininity. The kotis (who take the female gender role in their relationships with men) strongly articulated that masculinity is embodied in

biological essentialism and in penetration during sex. The gender role they assume in any given situation typically guides their behavior and interactions (i.e., acting either "masculine" or "feminine") with others. In other words, when they are in the role of "woman," their behavior tends to be more feminine and self-destructive. On the other hand, when acting as "man," they are more aggressive, often using violence against partners and wives.

The aggregate data also suggest that patterns of endorsement of markers of masculinity may be tied to social placement and perceived agency of specific types, i.e. related to the individual's sense of what norms they can and *need* to practice. Examples of this are seen in age, education and employment specific patterns. Older men were less likely to value traits typically defined as masculine, such as control over others, including wife, or aspects of independence such as not taking help from others, being private, not being swayed, voicing own opinion or in terms of sexuality to fulfilling urges first, or force during sex. However, men with more education—and therefore more choices for identity both as individuals and as men—did not display a consistent pattern of fluid notions. While they were less likely to agree to order in family or control over wife, they adhere strongly to not being swayed and influencing men and, in terms of sexuality, to initiating and controlling sex.

Further, the endorsement of masculine behaviors seen to be within personal control can typically be correlated with employment status. For example, men with daily wage, irregular or seasonal employment have the lowest agreement about associating masculine traits with behaviors that they believe are not viable for their circumstances, such as power, control, control over others, influencing men, rebelling against corruption, taking initiative in larger issues, taking risk for self-advancement and so on. In some sense they tend to disagree with notions that have an implicit sense of agency in the public space. However, they do endorse norms with agency in interpersonal dynamics, such as breaking norms, talking back, and control over wife. This pattern does not hold for agency in the intimate space, with their endorsement being the lowest for initiating and controlling sex and force during sex.

Reporting of Violence: Men's Perspectives

Overall patterns

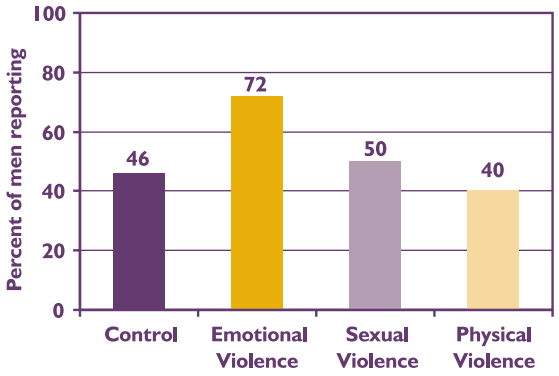
Men were asked about their use of a variety of violent behaviors towards their wives during the last year. Reporting of the findings on violence uses a classification of these behaviors into four types: control, emotional violence, sexual violence, and physical violence (see Tables V1 through V4 in the Appendix for details on behaviors assessed under each type). Men who reported using one or more behaviors towards their wives in the last year were categorized as reporting violence. In view of previous work on domestic violence in India, it was hypothesized that reporting of violence would be high across all age, education level, socio-economics status, and employment groups (INCLEN 2000, Jejeebhoy 1998, Macro 2000, EVALUATION Project 1997). Further, it was expected that much of the violence reported would be frequent, varied, and severe in nature. At the same time, however, it was expected that reporting of violence would decline as age, education, SES, and employment status increased.

Reporting of behaviors:

As expected, overall reporting of violence was high. Eighty-five percent of men reported engaging in at least one violent behavior in the past 12 months. Specifically, 72 percent reported emotional violence, 46 percent reported control, 50 percent reported sexual violence, and 40 percent reported physical violence (Figure 1). Similarly high levels of reporting were seen in NAZ's data study, with nearly 61 percent of men reporting at least one behavior of violence against their wives (32 percent control, 40 percent emotional, 40 percent sexual and 22 percent physical violence).

Refusing to let his wife out of the house and talk with others were the most common control behaviors, with 25 percent and 17 percent of men reporting each respectively (Table V1 in the Appendix). Instilling fear and shouting emerged as the most common behaviors of emotional violence, with 48 percent of men reporting each (Table V2 in the Appendix). Having

Figure 1. Overall reporting of violence



sex with an unwilling wife was by far the most common sexual behavior with 46 percent of men reporting this behavior (Table V3 in the Appendix). The next most common sexual behavior, having sex when wife complied because she was afraid of what you might do if she refused, was relatively less frequent (10 percent). 7.8 percent and 1 percent of men reported using threats and force respectively to have sex, behaviors consistent with most legal definitions of sexual assault. Slapping and hitting (29 percent, 15 percent) were the most commonly reported physical behaviors (Table V4 in the Appendix). Severe physical violence behaviors, such as slamming against a wall, smothering, choking or strangling, burning, putting a dangerous substance on her, such as kerosene or acid, or using a weapon was reported by 2.4 percent of all men.

These high rates of domestic violence are consistent with previous surveys done in India (e.g. INCLEN 2000, Jejeebhoy 1998, Macro 2000, EVALUATION Project 1997). For example, in a household survey undertaken by the International Clinical Epidemiologists Network (INCLEN) and ICRW, 28 percent of women reported experiencing physical violence[2] in the last year and 35 percent reported experiencing psychological violence in the last year[3] (INCLEN 2000). Similarly, 11 percent of women in the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) reported being beaten in the last year (Macro 2000).[4] In the only related study that surveyed men, the PERFORM Male Reproductive Health Survey in Uttar Pradesh, 30 percent of men reported *ever* hitting, slapping, kicking, or trying to hurt their wives (EVALUATION Project 1997). Interestingly, only 28 percent of the men reported ever having sex with an unwilling wife and more than one fifth of that group reported physically forcing sex. By comparison, in this survey, 46 percent of men reported having sex with an unwilling wife in the last year and of these men only 3 percent reported physically forcing sex in the last year.

Frequency of violence:

As expected, domestic violence was not limited to single isolated incidents. The majority of men reported using the violent behaviors repeatedly. Men reporting emotional violence (44 percent) reported engaging in at least one behavior more than ten times in the last year (Table 2). Similarly, 39 percent of those reporting sexual violence and 30 percent of those reporting control engaged in at least one behavior more than ten times in the last year. Physical violence, while less frequent in comparison, was also repetitive in nature; 29 percent of those reporting physical violence engaged in at least one behavior more than three times in the last year alone.

Other dimensions of violence:

As expected, violence is multi dimensional – men engage in multiple behaviors of a type and multiple types of violence. Over 41 percent of men reporting sexual or physical violence reported more than one behavior (Table V5 in the Appendix). Similarly, of the men reporting emotional violence and control, 67 percent and 55 percent respectively reported more than one behavior. Further, of the men reporting engaging in violence behaviors, 75 percent reported more than one violence type and 22 percent reported engaging in all four violence types. Together, the data

[2] Physical violence was defined as slapping, hitting, kicking, beating, using or threatening to use a weapon and/or forced sex.

[3] Psychological violence was defined as insulting, demeaning, threatening, threatening someone else she cares about, made her feel afraid, abandoned her, and/or was unfaithful.

[4] The NFHS rate is for beating by any perpetrator, not just the husband. However, for beating since the age of 15 over 90% reported the perpetrator was the husband and it is extremely likely that this proportion is the same, if not larger, for beating in the last year.

Table 2: Frequency of Reporting by Violence Types

Greatest frequency reported	Control n = 442 %	Emotional Violence n = 700 %	Sexual Violence n = 481 %	Physical Violence n = 389 %
Rarely 1-2	42.3	30.3	25.6	69.9
Sometimes 3-10	27.8	26.1	35.1	19.0
Frequently >10	29.9	43.6	39.3	11.1

Source: Quantitative Field Survey, 2001

support widely held conceptualizations of violence that there is a continuum and overlap of behaviors and forms of violence.

As stated before, the majority of men reported behaviors indicative of at least one form of violence, with only 15.3 percent of men reporting no violence. Twenty one percent of men reported only one form of violence (most frequently emotional violence only, and least frequently physical violence only). The remaining 80 percent of men reporting any violence reported at least two forms of violence (see Figure 2). Nearly 24 percent of men reported two forms of violence – the most frequent being emotional and physical violence, and the least frequent combination being control and physical violence only and both sexual and physical violence. When looking at the co-occurrence of any two forms of violence, emotional violence was the most likely to occur with either physical or sexual violence. Forty-five percent of men reporting sexual and one another (but not physical) form of violence also reported emotional violence. Of the 21.2 percent of men reporting three forms of violence, the most frequently reported combination was control, emotional and sexual violence; the least frequently reported combination was control with both physical and sexual violence. Overall, 24.7 percent of men reported all forms of violence.

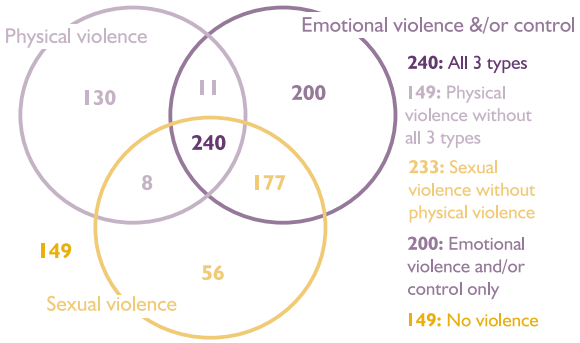
Violence and injury

In addition to being repetitive of multiples behaviors and forms, much of the reported violence was found to be severe in its impact or possible impact. A significant portion of the violence resulted in injury. Twenty-three percent of men reporting physical violence and 14 percent of those reporting sexual violence reported injury to their wives as a result of their behaviors.[5] Interestingly, men reported injury even for behaviors perceived as less threatening to life and physical safety (table V6 in the Appendix). For example, of the men reporting slap, 16 percent reported that it resulted in injury. Similarly, of the men reporting sex with an unwilling wife and of the men reporting using threats to have sex, 15 percent and 10 percent respectively reported that it resulted in injury. The second indication of severity of violence used was reporting of violent behaviors during pregnancy of the wife. Overall 32 percent of men reported engaging in violence while their wives were pregnant.[6] Seventeen percent of men reported using control, 14 percent reported using emotional violence, 11 percent reported using sexual violence, and 8 percent reported using physical violence *ever* while their wives were pregnant.

Demographic Trends in Domestic Violence

Reporting of violence was examined by selected demographics, including age, education, SES, employment, and number of children. However, variation

Figure 2. Co-occurrence of different forms of violence



[5] Data on injury was collected for physical and sexual violence behaviors only.

[6] Since only a small portion of the sample would have had pregnant wives during the last year, data on violence during pregnancy were collected for the entire married life. These data were collected in Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan only, n = 721.

across groups was not entirely linear as expected; reporting of violence did not uniformly decline as age, education, SES, and employment status increased.

Age: As predicted, reporting of violence types is high among every age group, but reporting is also significantly lower among men over 50 (table V7 in the Appendix). Both emotional and physical violence were relatively constant among men under 50 and declined significantly among men over 50. Reporting of emotional violence ranged from 66 percent to 74 percent among men under 50 and then declined by roughly a third to 52 percent among men over 50. Similarly, reporting of physical violence among men under 50 ranged from 40 percent to 42 percent and then declined by almost half to 23 percent among men over 50.

Both control and sexual violence decline steadily with age, with particularly sharp declines among men over 50. Reporting of control declines consistently from 65 percent among men under 25 to 43 percent among men 36-50 and then drops by over half to 19 percent among men over 50. Likewise, sexual violence declines from 67 percent among men under 25 to 43 percent among men 36-50 and then drops by over three quarters to 11 percent among men over 50.

Education: It was hypothesized that violence would decline as education increases. The data do support this but also suggest a more complex relationship. As expected, physical violence does decline significantly among highly educated men (Table V7). Reporting of physical violence ranged from 46 percent to 43 percent among men with 0 to 10 years of education. Among men with 11-12 years it declined by almost a fourth to 34 percent and then drops by more than half to 15 percent among men with over 12 years of education.

In its relationship to education, sexual violence follows almost the opposite pattern from physical violence (Table V7). The highest reported rates of sexual violence were found among the most highly educated men. Thiry-two percent and 47 percent respectively of men with 0 and 1-5 years of education report sexual violence. This percentage increased to 57 percent among with 6-10 years of education and stayed constant at this level for men with high school education and higher.

***Socio-Economic Status*:** Similar to the pattern for education, physical violence declines as SES increases, but the other violence types do not (Table V7 in the Appendix). As expected, physical violence declines from 48 percent among the lowest SES group to 28 percent among the highest. However, as with education, sexual violence has the opposite pattern; the lowest SES group also reported the lowest rate of sexual violence at 35 percent. This rate nearly doubled to 61 percent among the highest SES group. Neither emotional violence nor control had consistent associations with SES.

Employment: While trends associated with employment are similar to those of education and SES, they are not as clear and consistent. Patterns for physical and sexual violence roughly approximate those with education and SES. Overall, physical violence declines and sexual violence increases as employment status increases (Table V7 in the Appendix). However, in comparison to education and SES, the respective increases and decreases are not as consistent among groups. Additionally, the unemployed, the lowest employment group, do not fit the pattern. The unemployed report the lowest physical violence rate and a relatively high sexual violence rate. This discrepancy is probably due to the small sample size (n = 48) of the unemployed and the counterbalancing variables of education and SES; many unemployed men are highly educated and possess large numbers of assets. Reporting of emotional violence is high across all employment groups with no substantial variation. Control is also fairly uniform across the employment groups with the two lowest employment groups reporting the lowest rates.

Number of children: Given the importance of reproduction to gender identity in India, it is widely assumed that women who are childless or do not have

boy children are especially vulnerable to domestic violence. Data from this survey lends some support to the assumption that men are more likely to abuse childless wives, but does not support the assumption that men are more likely to abuse if they don't have sons. Men were more likely to report sexual violence if they had no children (Table V7 in the Appendix). However, they were not significantly more likely to report control, emotional violence, or physical violence if they had no children. Men who had no boy children were not significantly more likely to report any violence type.

Overall, the examination of violence reporting by demographic factors supports the fairly common consensus that wife-beating (or physical violence) is more prevalent in the lower classes, those who have less education, with irregular employment and so on. The data also support commonly held views that physical violence declines with the various demographics. All forms of violence, however, do not necessarily decline and even with a decline, relatively high proportions of men engage in some form of violent behavior, (i.e. 30 percent or more), with the exception of sexual violence for older men. In sum, the findings underscore the importance of moving away from a narrow conceptualization of violence within marriage as only "wife beating" and of extending public understanding of marital or intimate violence to include control, emotional abuse and sexual violence.

Attitudes Towards Domestic Violence

Men were also asked if they agreed to eight different reasons why it would be okay to use force with their wives. There were high agreement rates for each of the justifications for use of force with their wives (see Table 3) and 25 percent of the men agreed to all eight reasons. The largest percentage of men (79 percent) agreed that force was okay if the wife is sexually unfaithful. This was closely followed by disrespect to family elders and disrespect to the husband with 77 percent and 75 percent agreeing respectively. The lowest agreement rates were for the husband not fulfilling his responsibilities (44 percent) and for not providing sexual satisfaction (48 percent). This pattern holds up for Naz's data, with a high rate of agreement to use of force if wife is sexually unfaithful (80 percent), but lower agreement if the male partner is sexually unfaithful (57 percent).

These high agreement rates to justifications for the use of force among men are consistent with reasons for violence reported by women. However, the agreement rates among men appear to be higher.[7] In the recent National Family Health Survey (NFHS, Macro/IIPS 2000), women surveyed were given six reasons for justifying a husband beating his wife. Agreement rates for these reasons ranged from 25 percent to 37 percent, with the exception of a reason associated with dowry. While not all data provided in the NFHS and this study are comparable, agreement rates among the men in this study are approximately double (44 percent-76 percent) that of women in the NFHS. For example, in the NFHS, 33 percent of women in the NFHS and 79 percent of men in this study agreed that beating and use of force respectively are justified if a husband suspects his wife is unfaithful.

Subscribing to justifications for force was related to reporting of use of force, as well as other types of violence. The greater the number of justifications

Table 3: Agreement to Justifications for Use of Force

It is okay to use force with your wife if she:	%
Says that you do not fulfill your responsibilities	44.2
Does not fulfill her responsibilities	62.6
Does not provide you sexual satisfaction	47.8
Is sexually unfaithful	79.4
Does not follow your instructions	68.0
Is disrespectful to you	75.4
Is disrespectful to elders in your family	76.5
Tries to control you	63.9

Source: Quantitative Field Survey, 2001

[7] The comparison is not exact because in this survey men were asked if it was okay to "use force" while in the NFHS women were asked about "beating". It is possible that force is generally interpreted as less severe than beating and, therefore, a larger number of people (whether men or women) would agree with force than would agree with beating.

subscribed to, the greater the reporting of all violence types (see Table 4). For example, 21 percent of men who agreed to no justifications reported physical violence. This rate rose to 30 percent among men who agreed to one to four justifications and to 47 percent among men who agreed to five to eight justifications for the use of force.

The high agreement rates to justifications for violence are also consistent with men's views of their own behavior as being appropriate. A majority (92 percent) of men surveyed said they had not said or done anything that suggested lack of control, was uncalled for, or that could be considered harsh or severe in interactions with their wives in the last year. This extremely high rate remained fairly constant whether or not men report violence. For example, 89 percent of the men reporting sexual violence and 88 percent of the men reporting physical violence said they had not said or done any of the above.

Exploring Links Between Masculinity and Violence

Background and rationale

Literature exploring men's understanding of violence, including why it is deployed and under what circumstances, documents a link between men's sense of responsibility and use of violence, especially physical violence. Recent writings on masculinity (Kaufman, 2001; Fuller, 2001) note that men often take the responsibility to deal with problems and view violence as a resource to reinstate order. This suggests that physical violence is seen as a resource to fulfill the responsibility of maintaining social order and attests to its instrumental nature. Higher rates of physical violence reported by both scheduled (lower) caste (SC) men in Punjab and by upper castes in Tamil Nadu may be indicative of fear of loss of resources and personal and group status and power. At the same time, for dalit youth in Tamil Nadu, violence itself is a resource to acquire social and political power. If violence is viewed as a resource, it may be particularly salient for those who either do not have resources (such as lower castes), are losing resources (upper castes in Tamil Nadu) or those who have historically perceived a lack of social power (as in the newly empowered dalits).

Table 4: Reporting of Violence by Number of Justifications Endorsed

Number of justifications agreed to	Control %	Emotional Violence %	Sexual Violence %	Physical Violence %
0 n=61	13.1	47.5	32.8	21.3
1-4 n=293	43.0	64.5	53.9	30.4
5-8 n=617	49.9	78.1	49.1	46.5

Source: Quantitative Field Survey, 2001

If physical violence is perceived as instrumental for maintaining order, use of violence may be perceived as a duty, not a choice. Abrahams, Jewkes, and Laubsher (1999) conclude that violence is used not just to maintain control and dominance, but also to counter any imagined threats to the same. Responding to real and perceived threats to order may well explain the high prevalence of physical violence against wives.

Sexual violence, on the other hand, may be more an expression of the fundamental right to a woman's body and to maintaining an intimate relationship. In the Indian context, a further complexity to men's beliefs is the importance of the ability to sexually satisfy as a crucial marker of masculinity. Anxiety about pleasuring the wife or not being able to satisfy her may result in asserting control and power over the woman's sexuality. Romancing and seduction that often involves force and competing with other men also underscores this need to possess and control women. Sexual violence thus maybe closely correlated to men's understanding of power and control as relational concepts.

Given the multiple behaviors within and between each form of violence, it seemed most prudent to examine linkages between masculinity and violence in groups of men based on their reporting of co-occurrence of

different types of violence. Based on patterns of co-occurrence, five mutually exclusive groups of men were compared to explore possible linkages between masculinity and violence. The groups were: 1) Men who did not report any violent behaviors, 2) men who reported emotional violence and/or control only; 3) men who reported sexual violence and other forms, but not physical violence; 4) men who reported physical violence and any other one form of violence and 5) men who reported all types of violence. Analyses of potential links between masculinity and violence behaviors were based on endorsement of markers of masculinity, reporting of individual masculine behaviors, notions of violence and notions regarding women's work and their roles and responsibilities. For markers of masculinity, only selected characteristics hypothesized to be related to violence within marriage were used, excluding characteristics related to appearance and responsibilities. Key findings are reported below by the different groups of men engaging and not engaging in violence.

Markers of masculinity

Results of these analyses are summarized in Table L1 (Appendix). No differences in agreement were found between men reporting any of the different forms of violence and those reporting no violence with respect to conduct, privileges or sexuality as essential characteristics of masculinity. This is not surprising given the high rate of endorsement of these characteristics by men overall. However, significant differences were found between men in agreement with detailed (secondary and tertiary) characteristics of masculinity.

Overall, men who reported no violence were less likely to endorse markers of masculinity emphasizing the individual. They were less likely to agree with *independence* being an important characteristic of conduct and to *not taking help from women* as important for independence. Nonviolent men were also more likely not to endorse either *power or control* as important characteristics for conduct. Further, men reporting no violence were most likely to disagree with control as being an important masculinity marker, and more likely to disagree with *control over oneself* and *controlling one's wife* as important characteristics of control. The low agreement to self-control by these men is a point to further explore, as self-control otherwise seemed to an ideal norm. Focus groups in Rajasthan spoke of "real" men not reacting angrily despite provocation. Men reporting no violence were more likely to disagree with *being able to go, say or do what he wants* as a privilege for men. Finally, they were less likely to agree with *frequency and duration* of sex as important to a man sexually satisfying his wife. Surprisingly, there were no significant differences with respect to force during sex when compared to other groups of men, with the exception of men who reported all forms of violence and were more likely than nonviolent men to endorse force during sex.

At the other end of the range, men reporting all forms of violence also differed significantly from the other groups in their notions of masculinity. They were more likely than all other groups to agree with n*ot taking help from women, being private about problems, and not being swayed by others* as important characteristics of independence and masculinity. Likewise, while they did not differ in endorsement of power as important for men, they were more likely to agree with i*nfluencing women, others being afraid, and maintaining order in the family* as important characteristics of power. While they did not differ from other men reporting violence in terms of endorsement of control as important for men, they were the most likely of all groups to agree with *control over wife* as important for control. In terms of privilege options, they were more likely to agree with a man *being the primary decision maker, expressing sexuality, doing, saying, what he wants* as important male privileges. Lastly, men reporting all forms of violence were more likely to agree with *fulfillment of one's own sexual urges* as important for men's sexuality and with f*requency and duration of sex, initiation and control of sex,* and *use of force during sex* as important for sexually satisfying the wife.

Men reporting sexual violence showed a pattern of endorsement of notions that emphasized the importance of power and control and as expected, notions

related to sexuality and sexual satisfaction. They were most likely to agree with *not being swayed* as an important characteristic of independence and masculinity. Of all groups, men reporting sexual violence were also more likely to endorse *both* power and control. In terms of both power and control, they were most likely to agree with notions that emphasized relational concepts in power and control, such as *others being afraid* as a characteristic of power and *not being dominated over*. The sharpest difference was in terms of their endorsement of characteristics of sexuality and what is important for men to sexually satisfy their partners. In fact, the pattern of endorsement on sexuality characteristics by sexually violent men mirrors that of youth and educated men. Specifically, men reporting sexual violence were more likely to agree with *being sexually active, fulfillment of own urges,* and *having many sexual partners* as important for sexuality and with *frequency and duration of sex, to initiate and control sex,* and *use of force during sex* as important to sexually satisfy a partner.

Men reporting physical violence also showed a distinct priority on the maintenance of personal (independent) power rather than that in relation to others (as in the case of men reporting sexual violence or all forms of violence). They were the least likely to disagree with *independence* as important for men and with *not being dominated* as a characteristic of power. They did not differ from other groups in endorsement of power, control, or the importance of having both power and control. A pattern emerged regarding the endorsement of specific types of power, with a greater likelihood to agree with *maintaining order in the family* and less likelihood to agree with *influencing women* as important characteristics of power. They were also the least likely to agree with *being demanding* as an important characteristic of control. Men reporting physical violence were more likely to agree with the importance of specific characteristics of privileges, such as *being the primary decision maker* and being *able to go, do and say what he wants*. Lastly, while not responding distinctively to questions on characteristics of sexuality, they were the least likely to agree with *initiate and control sex,* and use of f*orce during sex* as important to sexually satisfy a partner.

Men reporting emotional violence and/or control only had the least differentiated responses to questions on notions of masculinity. Differences emerged on only two characteristics – they were more likely to agree with *being private about problems* as important for independence and least likely to agree with *expressing sexuality* as a privilege.

Individual behaviors

Behaviors consistent with the notions selected for comparative analyses for exploring links between violence and masculinity were selected for comparative analyses on men reporting violence versus men who did not report any violent behaviors. See Appendix (Table L2) for a summary of significant findings.

As with notions of masculinity, there was a clear differentiation in endorsement of behaviors by men reporting no violence and men reporting all forms of violence and those reporting sexual violence. Men reporting no violence were less likely to value behaviors related to controlling or responding to their wife's behavior, hence were less likely to report *controlling what my wife does, not tolerating family women* or *wife being disrespectful*. In contrast, men reporting all forms of violence and sexual violence were more likely to agree with behaviors both related to personal control and interactions with other, including sexually. Specifically, they were more likely to report *crying openly, using aggression to get what I want, doing things to show I am better than others, and initiating and controlling sex.* In addition, men reporting all forms of violence, but not those reporting sexual violence (without physical violence) were more likely to report *having many sexual partners*.

Men reporting physical violence differed from the other groups on only one behavior: they were less likely to report *doing things to show I am better than others.* Reporting of individual behaviors by men reporting emotional violence and/or control did not reveal any specific pattern. There were no differences between men reporting any forms of violence and those reporting no violence in reporting of behaviors such as *do and say what I want, being openly de-*

manding, ask for help, do not get angry easily, take most decisions at home, and *control family women.*

Notions regarding wife: responsibilities and expectations of the wife

Notions regarding roles and access to different spaces (e.g., work outside the home) that men hold for wives were compared between groups of men reporting violence and those not reporting violence (See Appendix - Table L3). In view of findings from the INCLEN survey suggesting that employment was a risk factor for domestic violence for married women, agreement with statements regarding whether women should work and with possible reasons why women should not work were also examined.

Men reporting no violence had more liberal notions about what women should and can do. They were less likely to agree with *childcare* being the wife's exclusive responsibilities. They were also less likely to agree that *the wife should not go outside the house, should only go out to work,* that *she must be watched over if she goes out*, and *must take my permission before doing anything.* Finally, men reporting no violence were more likely than other groups of men to agree that *women can work for money*.

In contrast, men reporting all forms of violence were more likely to agree with restrictive notions regarding women, reiterating their relational understanding of power and control. They were more likely to agree that *childcare, care of the elderly* and *controlling household expenses* are the wife's exclusive responsibilities. They were also more likely to agree that a wife should *take care of all the man's needs*. Further, men reporting all forms of violence were more likely to agree that the *wife should not go outside the house, should only go out to work,* that *she must be watched over if she goes out,* and *must take my permission before doing anything.* Finally these men were less likely to agree that *women can work for money.*

Men reporting sexual violence, like those reporting all forms, demonstrated restrictive notions of women and did not differ in their notions of the wife's responsibilities. However, while men reporting all forms of violence endorse all-encompassing restrictions on women, the restrictive notions of men reporting only sexual violence were clearly limited to women's mobility. This underscores the need of these men to control their interactions and, by extension, women's sexuality. Thus these men were more likely to agree only with statements that the *wife should not go outside the house, should only go out to work, and she must be watched over if she goes out.* They were also less likely to agree that *women can work for money*.

Men reporting physical violence demonstrated what seemed to be a mixed pattern of responses regarding questions about women. Responses reflected distinct notions about what the wife should and should not do both outside and inside the home but did not indicate a desire to restrict women to within the home. Specifically, men reporting physical violence were more likely to agree with *childcare* but less likely to agree with *care of the elderly* and *controlling household expenses* as the wife's responsibilities. They were also less likely to agree with restrictive statements such as the *wife should not go outside the house, should only go out to work,* and *she must be watched over if she goes out.* However, men reporting physical violence were more likely to agree that the *wife must take my permission before doing anything* and were the least likely to agree with the statement that *the wife can participate in politics.*

Notions about women held by men reporting emotional violence and/or control were not marked by any unique pattern. No differences were found between groups on agreement to childcare, maintaining relationships and providing for your sexual needs as the wife's responsibility. There were also no differences among groups in agreement to the statement that *wife must consult me on important issues, wife can participate in community activities*, and *wife should be as free as me* or to any *reasons why women should not work*.

Notions of violence:

While several men endorsed various justifications for the use of violence, a comparison among the groups of men reveals some differences in opinion as to what exactly justifies violent behavior. The pattern of endorsement substantiates the men's understanding of power and control as previously discussed. Men did not differ in the endorsement of *discipline* or *preventing others' domination* as justifications for violence. However, men reporting no violence were less likely to agree with *getting a share in resources* as a justification of violence. Men reporting sexual violence and all forms of violence were more likely to endorse *protection of possessions, adding to resources, creating fear,* and *controlling someone* as justifications of violence. In addition, men reporting all forms of violence were more likely to endorse *competing for love* and *achieving dominance* as justifications of violence. Men reporting physical violence had the lowest rate of agreement to *protecting possessions.* These men and those reporting emotional violence and control only had the lowest rate of agreement to *achieving dominance* as a justification of violence.

These different opinions in what conditions justify violence reinforce the finding that men who engage in sexual violence or all forms of violence have a more relational understanding of power and control. Those reporting sexual and all forms of violence were most likely to be concerned with outcomes that elevate their perceived power and status. This would make them more likely to use violence to protect and or augment their resources and have an impact (control, fear) on others. A particular need to demonstrate active augmentation of power through acquiring resources via aggression is suggested by the emphasis placed by men reporting all forms of violence on competing for love and achieving dominance as justifications of violence. In contrast, men reporting physical and not sexual violence appear to endorse behaviors that help maintain order to justify violence, and do not seem to be as concerned about augmenting status and power. Hence, use of violence by these men may be seen as reinstating power relations (as they "should" be) in the home with the wife fulfilling her expected responsibilities.

As stated previously, endorsement of various reasons justifying violence was high regardless of whether men reported violence or not. However, men reporting no violence were less likely to justify use of violence as compared to men reporting any form of violence. Men reporting no violence also reported the fewest and those reporting physical violence and all forms of violence reported the maximum number of reasons. There were also differences in agreement to specific reasons for violence between groups of men reporting no violence and those reporting different types of violence. While endorsement of *sexual infidelity* and *disrespect to elders* as reasons for violence was universal, men reporting physical (but not sexual) violence and all forms of violence were twice as likely to agree with various other reasons for violence, such as *wife not fulfilling her responsibilities* or *saying he did not fulfill his, not providing sexual satisfaction, her not following instructions,* and *trying to control him*. Men reporting physical violence alone (not all forms) were more likely to endorse the *wife being disrespectful* to him as a justification for violence than other groups of men reporting violence, who in turn were more likely to endorse this reason than non-violent men. Areas of conflict seen as common causes for use of violence in marriage were also examined for possible differential patterns among different groups of men. There was a general consensus among the three groups of men (reporting physical violence, sexual violence, and those reporting all forms of violence) that the *wife not fulfilling her responsibilities* and *not fulfilling his sexual needs* were justifications for violence.

Overall, men reporting physical violence alone endorsed conflict secondary to the wife not fulfilling her responsibilities as a source of violence. In contrast to these men's viewing violence as a conflict resolution strategy to reinstate order, men reporting sexual violence and all forms of violence may see violence as a means to change things to enhance their status by increasing their power and control over others.

Conclusions

The studies together attempted to understand the construction of masculinity in India and explore the linkages between masculinity and violence. To this end, a range of qualitative and quantitative data were brought together to delineate markers of masculinity in India, examine men's reporting of violence within the marriage/intimate relationships and explore linkages between masculinity and violence. Key findings from the site studies and the aggregate analysis are summarized below.

- There are a range of masculinities consistent with social location of men. While some markers of masculinity are universally endorsed, masculinity is clearly shaped by the location of the individual within social hierarchies of age, caste, and socioeconomic class. Endorsement of markers of masculinity, specifically of power and control, did reflect social location and perceived agency of the individual.
- Masculinity is a gendered concept and is rooted in a broader patriarchal ideology of differences in attributes, roles and responsibilities between men and women. NAZ's study demonstrated that transgendered men who switch between male and female sexual identities, such as men having sex with men, show a particularly sharp differentiated endorsement of characteristics of masculinity and femininity.
- Masculinity is not limited to being defined by relationships between men and women; it also defines, and is defined by, relationships among men. Articulations of ideal and hegemonic masculinity are inherently influenced by changes in relationships between men within the larger context of socio-political and economic changes. The strongest evidence for this comes from Tamil Nadu in the articulation of masculinity by dalit youth as norms to be emulated and unchallenged.
- Masculinity is defined by an interrelated rather than a distinct set of characteristics. Rajasthan's data highlighted the role of provider as linked to providing both material comfort and sexual satisfaction to the wife. In turn, providing sexual satisfaction is linked to frequency and duration of sex, which necessitate having physical endurance via a "steel like" physique.
- Sexuality is clearly a very critical marker of masculinity. While men do not endorse self-focus and lack of restraint in sex, there is a marked emphasis on the relative importance of men's sexuality over that of women's and on initiation, frequency and force in sex to sexually satisfy women. This is sharply evident in the Punjab site study. Further, fear of women's infidelity appears to drive men to struggle for power and control in sexual relationships with women. This is also seen in MSM with the partner in the female role yielding to the "male" partner.
- Violence within marriage or intimate relationship encompasses a range of forms beyond "wife beating". All forms of violence are reported in high numbers and with high frequency. Further violence does not decrease with demographic indicators, with the exception of age, but shifts in form. The high level of sexual violence among the educated and high-socioeconomic status men is disturbing and requires further research and analysis.
- Violence in the marital or intimate relationship seems to be closely associated with endorsement of independence, power, control, the privilege of being able to do and say as they want and to express and satisfy sexual needs as important characteristics of masculinity. Only men who did not report violence did not endorse independence in relation to not taking help from women, power, control over self or wife, or other "masculine" privileges.
- Sexual violence, in particular, appears to be associated with power and control as relational concepts such as the ability to influence others (e.g. inducing fear, control over wife, not being demanding), as well as being above the influence of others (e.g., not being swayed, not being dominated over, control over self). Satisfying oneself sexually by force and with disregard to the partner may be an expression of such power. Men who engage in sexual violence clearly have a distinct understanding of what constitutes sexuality.

- Physical violence is more likely to be marked by efforts to maintain and protect personal power by adhering to perceived expectations, such as maintaining order in the family and being the primary decision maker. Perception of the privilege of being able to do what is needed to enact one's perceived role and responsibilities may further promote the use of violence to ensure maintenance of order and of responsibilities of the wife.
- As with notions of masculinity, men's reporting of their own behaviors is associated with violence. Men reporting violence are more likely to report actively doing things to maintain their interpersonal power such as using aggression, competing with others, and initiating and controlling sexual interactions. Unlike men reporting sexual violence, those reporting physical violence do not report active maintenance of any masculine domain. In fact, they are less likely to report any behavior obviously indicative of a power struggle (e.g., I do things to show I am better than others).
- The data clearly indicate that violence is associated with rigid adherence to gender roles and expectations. Men reporting all forms of violence demonstrated restrictive notions of what women can and should do, while men reporting no violence disagree with these restrictive notions. As expected, in keeping with their emphasis of control and power, sexually violent men are less concerned about women fulfilling prescribed responsibilities and more concerned about what women should be allowed to do outside the immediate bounds of their expected roles. In contrast, physically violent men are less concerned with what privileges women are allowed as long order is maintained in relation to wives fulfilling their responsibilities of housework and deferring to them as husbands by taking their permission and not participating in activities that may be perceived as within the male order (e.g., politics).
- Further, men reporting violence of any kind do not perceive anything negative about their use of violence. The vast majority of men reporting sexual violence or physical violence did not report a loss of control or doing something they regretted in the context of a conflict with their wives. This further supports the perception of violence as a legitimate means of resolving a conflict or negotiating to have one's needs met.

A Way Forward

Overall, these exploratory studies have highlighted that men are not 'naturally violent' but that there are complex linkages between masculinity and violence. First, the studies have presented the fluidity of masculinity, i.e., its nuances and how it is shaped by social and economic processes. It is evident from the studies that gender identity is constantly negotiated and constantly under threat in the public as well in the family. In such a situation, challenges leveled at a man's masculinity are perceived as a threat to power, position and control as evident from both the qualitative and quantitative data. And threats to power in terms of effects on position and status are a challenge to gender identity. In such a context, violence is both a conflict resolution strategy as well as a resource for augmenting power or status.

Yet the data suggest several entry points to challenge and modify the understanding of masculinity. First of these is the relatively low endorsement overall to *not taking help from women or men* as characteristics of independence. While self-control, privacy and maintaining privacy of community and family were endorsed widely, there was an expression of interdependence which is a possible entry point for dialogue. Similarly, the lower emphasis placed on physical strength to fight as characteristic of physique and fighting four to five men as characteristic of courage provides an area for introducing dialogues on masculinity, since it suggests lack of glorification of the physical capacity to fight or engage in physical violence.

Interventions and prevention strategies need to employ a dual focus of exploring alternate means of resolving conflicts, achieving a sense of equal power and control, and need satisfaction as well as underscoring the negative impact of use of violence. Clearly it is important to have negative sanctions for violent behavior.

On a more positive note, men who do not report violence clearly seem to have a sense of gender equality. Their understanding of gender roles is not as rigid as other men, as reflected in their non-endorsement of exclusive responsibilities of women in terms of taking care of children, maintaining harmonious relationships or taking care of the man's needs. This is consistent with their endorsement of mutuality in relationships as seen by lower agreement to independence and to not taking help from women as essential characteristics of masculinity. While adhering to some traditional gender expectations, such as wife providing for all sexual needs or undertaking household chores, nonviolent men appear to recognize women's own decision-making powers and are the least likely to agree with the importance of women being watched over or seeking men's permission and more likely to agree to women working and participating in community or political activities. The importance of emphasizing gender equity in intervention and prevention efforts for domestic violence needs no reiteration.

Appendix

Table M1: Agreement to Masculinity Characteristics by Age[1]

	<25	25-35	36-50	>50	Total	p value
Physical Appearance						
Body building	93.9	86.3	80.5	71.0	84.0	.000
Sports[m]	96.7	91.1	81.0	63.6	85.8	.000
Conduct						
Fighting 4-5 men	54.2	44.9	31.5	33.3	40.1	.001
No help from women	76.2	56.6	54.0	41.3	56.7	.000
Not being swayed	99.0	91.3	88.3	77.3	89.9	.000
Voicing own opinion	94.3	83.3	72.8	66.7	79.4	.000
Sexuality						
Fulfill sexual urges first	55.6	38.3	26.7	17.1	34.2	.000
Many sex partners	22.2	12.8	7.0	6.6	11.2	.001
Initiate and control sex	90.6	86.4	75.9	78.6	82.3	.001
Force during sex	81.1	63.9	48.3	40.0	58.2	.000

[1] Agreement levels are a percentage of those asked the question and not of the total sample. This applies to all "M" tables.

[m] Missing IDC cases

Table M2: Agreement to Masculinity Characteristics by Education

	0	1-5	6-10	11-12	>12	Total	p value
Physical Appearance							
Facial hair	91.3	89.4	90.1	82.2	73.0	87.5	.000
Sports[m]	77.4[m]	85.5[m]	86.0[m]	96.6[m]	100.0[m]	85.8	.000
Physical labor	95.2	92.3	92.8	92.5	72.8	91.1	.000
Conduct							
Boldness	70.8	85.0	88.2	88.6	85.7	83.6	.000
Control over other	35.9	40.0	46.5	60.5	56.9	45.8	.001
Not being swayed	80.7	89.6	91.7	91.9	98.2	89.9	.000
Influencing men	19.3	32.0	47.2	56.9	62.5	42.0	.000
Order in family	93.3	90.4	85.5	87.7	69.2	85.9	.000
Control over wife	92.4	93.2	88.0	93.4	65.2	87.1	.000
Sexuality							
Freedom to any partner	23.6	31.9	40.1	35.5	18.6	32.1	.000
Penis size	77.0	77.6	71.0	72.4	55.7	71.9	.000
Initiate and control sex	73.2	84.9	81.7	86.8	93.8	82.3	.000

[m] Missing cases from IDC

Table M3: Agreement to Masculinity Characteristics by Socio-Economic Status

	High	Middle	Low	Total	p value
Physical Appearance					
Facial hair	76.6	94.2	91.0	87.5	.000
Sports[m]	96.7	89.5	76.5	85.8	.000
Physical labour	81.3	95.6	94.9	91.1	.000
Conduct					
Power	86.3	79.1	69.7	78.2	.000
Control	95.4	91.8	82.0	89.6	.000
Privacy	80.3	89.5	90.5	86.8	.001
Control over others	55.1	50.9	31.5	45.8	.000
Insubordination	46.6	48.1	33.2	42.6	.001
Endurance	88.7	93.4	98.2	93.5	.000
Fighting 4-5 men	43.7	50.8	26.8	40.1	.000
Breaking norms	22.2	23.1	37.5	27.5	.000
Talking back	54.1	69.2	74.6	65.8	.000
Taking risks for self-advancement	82.6	78.1	67.2	76.1	.000
Not being swayed	95.9	92.3	81.7	89.9	.000
Influencing men	58.5	44.2	20.6	42.0	.000
Influencing women	43.8	40.5	25.4	37.0	.000
Order in community	66.4	82.6	76.3	74.8	.000
Order in family	77.0	88.0	93.9	85.9	.000
Control over men	41.6	37.7	23.5	34.6	.000
Control over wife	77.3	89.3	94.8	87.1	.000
Responsibility					
To have children	85.0	91.9	94.4	90.6	.000
Sexuality					
Fulfill sexual urges first	31.0	46.2	26.1	34.2	.000
Penis size	62.5	75.5	76.8	71.9	.001
Initiate and control sex	87.6	87.8	72.5	82.3	.000
Force during sex	59.2	70.1	46.4	58.2	.000

Table M4: Agreement to Masculinity Characteristics by Employment Status

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	p value
	High Salaried; regular	Self-employed contract, or other; regular	Salaried, self-employed, contract, other; irregular/ seasonal	Daily wages; regular	Daily wages; irregular or seasonal	Low Unemployed		
Physical Appearance								
Sports[m]	94.0	94.9	79.5	81.6	73.8	97.6	85.8	.000
Conduct								
Power	84.5	82.4	82.2	76.5	62.2	95.7	78.2	.000
Control	95.0	93.1	91.5	86.3	80.3	89.4	89.6	.000
Privacy	89.6	79.2	88.3	87.8	89.0	100	86.8	.000
Control over other	49.8	56.3	46.7	42.9	24.8	70.7	45.8	.000
Insubordination	35.1	52.7	55.0	38.8	30.0	53.7	42.6	.000
Endurance	95.7	84.5	94.4	100	98.5	97.4	93.5	.000
Initiate in larger issues	87.0	91.3	96.3	85.0	80.7	100	88.4	.001
Fighting 4-5 men	42.2	45.4	56.5	32.5	22.3	55.3	40.1	.000
Breaking norms	26.2	16.0	27.4	28.2	43.7	22.0	27.5	.000
Talking back	62.3	56.2	67.3	64.1	78.1	75.6	65.8	.001
Taking risks for self-advancement	79.6	85.8	74.3	71.8	65.0	65.9	76.1	.000
Not being swayed	93.3	96.7	93.3	86.7	76.9	91.1	89.9	.000
Influencing men	50.8	53.5	37.7	28.2	20.0	44.4	42.0	.000
Non-financial resources	83.8	68.4	76.4	71.8	89.0	86.7	78.8	.001
Order in family	87.0	75.3	87.7	94.9	94.5	91.1	85.9	.000
Control over men	38.9	38.7	33.9	29.5	19.3	64.3	34.6	.000
Responsibility								
To have a male child	50.9	44.3	36.2	34.7	42.7	51.1	44.2	.001
Sexuality								
Initiate and control sex	87.0	88.6	86.1	84.1	67.6	88.6	82.3	.000
Force during sex	59.9	66.1	69.6	56.8	38.0	79.5	58.2	.000

[m] Missing cases from IDC

Table V1: Control Behaviors Reported by Men Towards Wife (last 12 months)

	1-2 times (%)	3-10 times (%)	>10 times (%)	Total (%)
Refused to let her out of the house:	10.8	6.9	6.8	**24.5**
Refused to let her meet relatives:	5.9	1.5	1.3	**8.7**
Tied her up, tied her to something:	.5	.1	0	**0.6**
Locked her in a room or in the house:	1.4	.1	0	**1.5**
Took her money or belongings:	2.0	.6	.4	**3.0**
Limited her interactions with others:	6.0	2.8	2.3	**11.1**
Refused to let her talk with others:	7.8	5.1	3.9	**16.8**
Closely watched what she did:	4.0	3.6	4.4	**12.0**
Repeatedly asked questions about her actions:	2.3	1.0	1.9	**5.2**
Expressed displeasure at her actions:	4.5	.5	.4	**5.4**
One or more of the above behaviors (greatest frequency reported)**:**	19.3	12.7	13.6	**45.5**

Table V2: Emotional Violence Behaviors Reported by Men Towards Wife (last 12 months)

	1-2 times (%)	3-10 times (%)	>10 times (%)	Total (%)
Instilled fear:	17.2	11.7	19.5	**48.4**
Destroyed her belonging(s):	2.2	.3	.1	**2.6**
Destroyed or smashed things:	4.9	1.2	.9	**7.0**
Called her stupid, ugly, or useless:	6.9	5.0	4.9	**16.8**
Insulted or humiliated her:	.9	.6	1.8	**3.3**
Ignored her or was indifferent to her:	10.4	4.4	1.1	**15.9**
Threatened to disclose private information:	.3	.2	0	**.5**
Threatened to hurt or take away family members:	1.4	.2	0	**1.6**
Threatened to kill or seriously hurt someone she cared about:	.4	.1	0	**.5**
Threatened to kill or seriously hurt her:	4.5	1.4	.4	**6.3**
Shouted or screamed at her:	17.1	14.8	16.5	**48.4**
Used abusive language with her:	10.6	9.7	9.5	**29.8**
Did or said something else that could hurt her emotionally:	2.3	.9	.4	**3.6**
One or more of the above behaviors (greatest frequency reported)**:**	21.8	18.8	31.4	**72.1**

Table V3: Sexual Violence Behaviors Reported by Men Towards Wife (last 12 months)

	1-2 times (%)	3-10 times (%)	>10 times (%)	Total (%)
Had sex when she was not willing (but did not use physical force):	11.3	16.7	18.4	**46.4**
Did not use a condom or birth control method despite her request:	3.5	2.1	2.7	**8.3**
Had sex when she did not want to, but complied because she was afraid of what you would do if she refused:	3.9	3.2	3.1	**10.2**
Physically forced her to do something she might have found degrading or humiliating:	2.5	1.6	.9	**5.0**
Used threats to make her have sex:	4.3	1.9	1.6	**7.8**
Used physical force to have sex:	0.8	0.4	0.2	**1.4**
One or more of the above behaviors (greatest frequency reported):	12.7	17.4	19.5	**49.5**

Table V4: Physical Violence Behaviors Reported by Men Towards Wife (last 12 months)

	1-2 times (%)	3-10 times (%)	>10 times (%)	Total (%)
Slapped her:	18.5	6.8	4.0	**29.3**
Hit her:	13.5	1.0	.7	**15.2**
Kicked her:	5.8	.5	.6	**6.9**
Beat her:	4.3	1.0	.8	**6.1**
Pushed or shoved her:	6.2	1.5	.5	**8.2**
Pulled her hair or dragged her by the hair:	1.9	.3	.4	**2.6**
Slammed her against a table or wall:	.3	0	0	**.3**
Smothered, choked, or strangled her:	.5	.1	0	**.6**
Thrown something at her:	.3	.1	0	**.4**
Burned her:	.4	.1	0	**.5**
Put a dangerous substance on her (such as acid or kerosene):	.1	0	0	**.1**
Used a weapon against her:	.4	.1	0	**.5**
Did something else that could hurt her physically:	.9	0	0	**.9**
One or more of the above behaviors (greatest frequency reported):	28.0	7.6	4.4	**40.1**

Table V5: Number of Behaviors Reported by Men Reporting Each Violence Type

Number of Behaviors Reported	Control	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence	Physical Violence
	(10 behaviors) n = 442 %	(13 behaviors) n = 700 %	(7 behaviors) n = 481 %	(13 behaviors) n = 389 %
1	45.2	32.6	59.3	59.1
2	28.3	25.7	26.8	22.9
3	18.1	18.0	10.4	10.0
4	4.5	11.9	2.5	2.6
5	2.3	6.0	0.4	2.1
6	1.1	2.7	0.6	2.1
7	0.5	1.7	0	0
8	0	0.7	*	0.3
9	0	0.4	*	0.8
10	0	0	*	0.3
11	*	0	*	0
12	*	0.3	*	0
13	*	0	*	0

Table V6: Reported Injury for Selected Physical and Sexual Violence Behaviors[3] (as a percent of the men reporting the behavior).

	Some injury occurred	Wife was unable to do housework	Wife needed and/or accessed medical help	Total injury
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
Slapped her: (n = 285)	10.5 (30)	3.2 (9)	2.1 (6)	**15.7 (45)**
Hit her: (n = 148)	8.8 (13)	4.1 (6)	2.1 (3)	**15.0 (22)**
Kicked her: (n = 67)	13.4 (9)	4.5 (3)	7.5 (5)	**25.4 (17)**
Beat her: (n = 60)	25.0 (15)	13.3 (8)	8.3 (5)	**46.6 (28)**
Pushed or shoved her: (n = 80)	16.3 (13)	8.8 (7)	5.1 (4)	**30.2 (24)**
Had sex when she was not willing (but did not use physical force): (n = 451)	3.5 (16)	2.9 (13)	8.2 (37)	**14.6 (66)**
Did not use a condom or birth control method despite her request: (n = 80)	11.3 (9)	1.3 (1)	0 (0)	**12.6 (10)**
Had sex when she did not want to, but complied because she was afraid of what you would do if she refused: (n = 99)	7.1 (7)	2.0 (2)	7.1 (7)	**16.2 (16)**
Physically forced her to do something she might have found degrading or humiliating: (n = 49)	4.1 (2)	2.0 (1)	4.1 (2)	**10.2 (5)**
Used threats to make her have sex: (n = 76)	5.3 (4)	3.9 (3)	0 (0)	**9.2 (7)**
Used physical force to have sex: (n = 14)	14.3 (2)	7.1 (1)	7.1 (1)	**28.5 (4)**

[3] For behaviors that men engaged in more than once the injury for the most severe incident was reported.

Table V7: Reporting of Violence by Selected Demographic Characteristics

	Control	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence	Physical Violence
	%	%	%	%
Age:				
16-24	65.2	66.1	67.0	42.0
25-35	48.5	76.5	59.2	44.1
36-50	43.0	74.1	43.3	39.4
51-70	18.5	52.2	10.9	22.8
Education:				
0	40.2	72.0**	31.8	46.3
1-5	54.4	78.9**	47.4	45.6
6-10	46.6	74.0**	56.5	43.2
11-12	51.2	65.9**	57.3	34.1
>12	35.3	61.3**	56.3	15.1
Employment status:				
1: Unemployed	33.3	39.6	50.0	22.9
2: Daily wages irregular	36.4	73.2	36.0	49.2
3: Daily wages regular	46.2	82.7	50.0	51.9
4: Other irregular	50.0	72.7	48.5	38.6
5: Other regular	51.7	74.2	58.8	37.8
6: Salaried regular	48.2	72.5	54.1	34.2
Socio-economic status:				
Low	37.5	71.9**	35.0	47.5
Middle	54.2	75.5**	53.6	42.9
High	43.2	67.9**	60.7	27.9
Number of children:				
0	53.1**	61.9**	60.2	36.3**
1-3	45.0**	73.1**	50.5	40.7**
>3	43.2**	74.3**	41.4	40.1**
Boy children:				
No	49.3**	69.1**	56.2**	40.1**
Yes	44.4**	72.9**	47.6**	40.1**

**Not statistically significant, p>01.

Table L1: Differences Between Different Groups of Men Reporting Violence and No Violence in Endorsement of Markers of Masculinity

	No Violence (n=149)	Control and/ or Emotional Violence only (n=200)	Sexual Violence but no Physical Violence (n=233)	Physical Violence and One Other Form of Violence (n=149)	All Forms of Violence (n=240)
			Characteristics of Conduct		
Independence					
Not taking help from women	More likely **dis**agree	More likely agree		Least likely **dis**agree	More likely agree
Being private about problems	Least likely agree		Most likely agree	Most likely **dis**agree	More likely agree
Not being swayed by others					More likely agree
Power					
Influencing women			Most likely agree	Less likely agree	More likely agree
Others being afraid			Most likely agree	More likely agree	More likely agree
Maintaining order in the family					More likely agree
Control					
Control over self*	More likely **dis**agree		Least likely **dis**agree		
Being demanding				Least likely **dis**agree	
Not being dominated			More likely **dis**agree		Least likely **dis**agree
Control over women*	More likely **dis**agree				
Control over wife					
Power and Control both					
			Characteristics of Privilege		
Primary decision maker		Least likely agree		More likely agree	More likely agree
Expressing sexuality		Less likely agree			Most likely agree
Doing, saying, what he wants				Most likely agree	More likely agree

* No significant differences between groups (p>.001).

Table L1: Differences Between Different Groups of Men Reporting Violence and No Violence in Endorsement of Markers of Masculinity *(continued)*

	No Violence (n=149)	Control and/ or Emotional Violence only (n=200)	Sexual Violence but no Physical Violence (n=233)	Physical Violence and One Other Form of Violence (n=149)	All Forms of Violence (n=240)
Characteristics of Sexuality					
Being sexually active			Most likely agree		
Fulfillment of own urges					Most likely agree
Having many sexual partners			More likely agree		
Ability to satisfy wife*			More likely agree		
Characteristics of sexual satisfaction					
Frequency and duration of sex	Less likely to agree		More likely agree	Least likely agree	More likely agree
Initiate and control sex			More likely agree	Least likely agree	More likely agree
Force during sex			More likely agree		More likely agree

* No significant differences between groups (p>.001).

Table L2: Differences Between Groups of Men Reporting Different Types of Violence and No Violence in Endorsement of Individual Behaviors*

Behavior	No Violence (n=149)	Control and/or Emotional Violence only (n=200)	Sexual Violence but no Physical Violence (n=233)	Physical Violence and One Other Form of Violence (n=149)	All Forms of Violence (n=240)
I use aggression			More likely agree		More likely agree
I do things to show I am better than others			More likely agree	Less likely agree	More likely agree
I cry openly			More likely agree		Most likely agree
I control what my wife does	Less likely agree				
I do not tolerate women in the family disobeying or being disrespectful to me	Less likely agree				
I have many sexual partners					More likely agree
I initiate and control sex			Most likely agree		More likely agree

* Only behaviors for which significant differences ($p<.001$) are presented.

Table L3: Differences Between Groups of Men Reporting in Endorsement of Responsibilities and Expectations of the Wife

	No Violence (n=149)	Control and/ or Emotional Violence only (n=200)	Sexual Violence but no Physical Violence (n=233)	Physical Violence and One Other Form of Violence (n=149)	All Forms of Violence (n=240)
Household chores*					
Care of children	Less likely agree			More likely agree	More likely agree
Care of elderly				More likely **dis**agree	More likely agree
Control household expenses				Less likely agree	More likely agree
Maintaining relationships*					
Care of your needs	Less likely agree				More likely agree
Providing for your sexual needs*					
Wife should not go outside the home	Less likely agree		More likely agree	Least likely agree	More likely agree
Wife should go outside only to work	Less likely agree		More likely agree	Least likely agree	More likely agree
Wife must be watched over if she goes out	Less likely agree		More likely agree	Least likely agree	More likely agree
Wife must get my permission before doing anything	Less likely agree			More likely agree	More likely agree
Wife must consult me on important issues*					
Wife can participate in community activities*					
Wife can participate in politics				Least likely agree	
Wife can work for money	More likely agree		Less likely agree, more likely to say unsure/ depends	More likely agree	Less likely agree, more likely to say unsure/ depends

* No significant differences between groups (p>.001).

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